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Leaders Attend 75th Anniversary Celebrations

Alia Arrives in Vlore

AU271943 [Editorial Report] Tirana Domestic Service at 1700 GMT on 27 November carries a 6-minute report on the arrival of Ramiz Alia, AWP Central Committee first secretary, and other party-state leaders in the city of Vlore to attend the celebrations on the occasion of the 75th anniversary of the Declaration of Albania's Independence. A reporter describes the scene, stating that the central square is filled with thousands of citizens, who also line both sides of the road leading to the square from the outskirts of the city. The reporter then states that Ramiz Alia arrives, gets out of his car and proceeds to the talk to people, shake hands, and embrace them. The reporter also states that Alia is accompanied by "Adil Carcani, AWP Central Committee Politburo member and chairman of the Council of Ministers; and comrades Foto Cami, Lenka Cuko, Manush Myftiu, Prokop Murra, Rita Marko, Simon Stefani, and Vangjel Cerrava; members of the AWP Central Committee, of the Presidium of the People's Assembly, and of the government." They are greeted by Faik Cinaj, Vlore District AWP Committee first secretary, Luan Muhameti, Vlore District People's Council Executive Committee chairman, and other local officials.

Alia Speech

AU292018 Tirana Domestic Service in Albanian 2100 GMT 28 Nov 87

[Speech by Ramiz Alia, AWP Central Committee first secretary, at a reception to mark the 75th anniversary of Albanian independence, in Vlore on 28 November—recorded]

[Text] Dear comrades and friends, 75 years have elapsed since the glorious day when Ismail Qemali, surrounded by representatives from all over the country, proclaimed the independence of Albania here in Vlore. Seventy-five years is no short time, particularly in this century with its many wars and upheavals, radical economic and cultural transformations, and an unprecedented pace and dynamism in people's lives. It seems a longer space of time because of the colossal transformations and leaps which have taken place in Albania, especially as a result of the triumph of the people's revolution.

Nevertheless, we experience that magnificent event in our national history with no less joy and pride than the generations of Albanians that witnessed it with their own eyes. We feel close to it, and are aware of its significance, for the proclamation of the independence in 1912 represents not only the crowning of the five-century long struggle for freedom and independence and one of the most important links of the history of our nation, but it has been and remains forever a powerful source of light and patriotic inspiration on our road to freedom and progress. Therefore, our gratitude and that of coming generations toward the glorious deed of the patriots of our renaissance, toward its fighters and toward those who toiled and sacrificed themselves to make Albania free and independent, will always be ardent, and we shall hold them forever in high esteem.

I avail myself of the happy occasion of the commemoration of the 75th anniversary of the proclamation of the independence to greet the people of Vlore and its district, to express the respect and admiration of all of us for their outstanding patriotic revolutionary traditions. The name of Vlore has become synonymous with sublime love for the homeland, self-sacrifice for the freedom and independence of the homeland, and devotion to the cause of the revolution. Its name has been uttered so often and so clearly by every Albanian heart during the most difficult but most magnificent days of the history of our nation. It has become a summons to struggle, and a banner in battle.

We shall always recall and honor with profound respect the outstanding figures of its great sons. We shall bow our heads with veneration before the wisdom and political courage of Ismail, the exemplary fighting spirit of Halim Xhelo, the communist courage and revolutionary consistency of Hysni Kapo, and that rare courage and bravery displayed by the sons of Vlore in 1912, 1920, 1924, and during the heroic National Liberation War. As always, the party and the entire population are delighted at the great achievements of the people of Vlore in the years since the liberation, and the great socialist transformations that have taken place. We are especially delighted that it has not only maintained its patriotic and revolutionary traditions, but transformed them into inspiration to progress on the brilliant road of socialism, led by the party, and to be always politically mobilized and ideologically aware. Dear comrades, brothers, and sisters of Vlore, I wish you every good wish on the festival of the proclamation of independence and the liberation of the homeland. May you always be successful, and live in honor and happiness. [applause]

Dear comrades, freedom and independence have been the loftiest aspirations of our people throughout their lives. They have preferred to fight and die for freedom rather than to be subjugated. Had they surrendered, no doubt their houses would not have been set on fire, and their fields would not have been doomed to desolation. But our ancestors refused to be turned into cattle. They were aware that not only national and human dignity, but also that of the individual, can only exist and flourish in freedom and complete independence. Entire generations in Albania lived and died cherishing the dream of independence; they fought and died to realize this dream. Neither the violence of foreign occupiers nor the backwardness they left in their trail could subdue that desire. It was this inextinguishable fire that kindled the hearts of Albanians in the course of centuries. It was this unflinching struggle and these superhuman sacrifices, which led the Albanian people to the day of their independence on 28 November 1912. It was this pure patriotic consciousness which the party of the Albanian

communists, with Comrade Enver Hoxha at its head, raised to a high level during the National Liberation War, and which brought about the historic victory of 29 November 1944. It is again this tradition and this history that teach us to preserve our freedom and independence and incessantly strengthen these values, and that compel us to be always vigilant toward the enemy. It is the same history and consciousness which tell us to put the interests of the homeland and socialism above everything. [applause]

The line of independence and national sovereignty, which bears the seal of our revolution and which Comrade Enver Hoxha left as his legacy is fundamental to our domestic, foreign, economic, and cultural policy. It has been and remains an invariable constant in the socialist construction and the development of the new Albania.

Imperialist and revisionist enemies and different kinds of reactionaries attack our line and stand. They do this sometimes by denying our history, so as to allegedly prove that we are a people without a past, and that everything we have achieved is due to the benevolence of others. Sometimes they try flattery and trickery; sometimes they portray us as conspirators and troublemakers, so as to discriminate against us and isolate us from the rest of the world. It is their desire and intention that we change course, because this is the way we are supposed to become advanced and adapt ourselves to the current developments. But what changes do they mean, and what do these gentlemen dream of? Of course they are not talking about those persistent efforts made by the party, the state, and the working masses to improve the management and organization of production, which are a continual and vital process. Nor are they talking about our analyses of shortcomings and failures that crop up time after time in various sectors, and which are a familiar and efficient aspect of our labor. Nor do they mean criticism and self-criticism, which are among the strongest driving forces of socialist society. No, they want us to apply Gorbachevian reforms in our country, that is, to change our social order, to liberalize our state power of the dictatorship of the proletariat. They want us to change our relations with foreign countries, to give up our fundamental principles of Marxism-Leninism and the teachings of Comrade Enver Hoxha. They know that if our socialist system and our independence in the field of our international relations are affected, then this will disturb the foundations on which our Republic, and the life of the people and their future, have been built.

But this will never happen. Our people and party will consistently and loyally forge ahead on the road of freedom, independence, and socialism, respecting the teachings of our national history, our traditions, the bloodshed, and the sacrifices that have been made for the Albania we enjoy today. [applause]

We have neither envied, nor do we envy anybody. We have not made and do not make comparisons with others when we estimate our achievements. Likewise, we have not made a practice of borrowing foreign experiences. This is not out of some kind of hesitation or because of some petit bourgeois self-respect, but because of the fact that any other given country has developed and is developing under conditions different from ours. Entirely different ideological, political, economic, cultural, and other factors have had and have their impact on this development.

We Albanians have been poor, and very poor at that. We have therefore lagged somewhat behind others in some fields. However, this was not because we were incapable of learning, unable of organizing ourselves, or because our people were not fond of work. We have lagged behind because others have not left us free to make progress, because they have forbidden us to learn, and hindered our development. It is because our people were aware of their inner energies and eager for knowledge and progress, that they did not cease for a single moment their struggle for freedom and independence. If we were free, they said, you would see what we could do. And when the Albanian people won this freedom and independence, through the revolution they achieved, they worked wonders.

The economic and social transformations carried out in the course of these 43 years of our new life, under the leadership of the party and following the teachings of Enver, are incomparable not only in their depth of content, but also in the rapidity with which they have been carried out. During this period, we have ascended the rungs of progress not one by one, but by fours and fives. [applause] This is a tangible reality which everyone sees with his own eyes. At the same time, it fortifies our persuasion and conviction that it is only when we are free and independent, and only when we stride resolutely and unflinchingly along the road to socialism, that our homeland, our beloved Albania, can survive and make progress, as all those who laid down their lives and spared no effort to lay the secure and unshaken foundations of Albania dreamed and longed for. There are people in the world who say, some unintentionally, but most of them out of malevolence, that if we are to advance and develop we must open up. But what does it mean to open up? If it means to encroach on the independence we have already won, to limit our sovereignty, to sink into debt, to join military blocs and groups and so forth, this will never happen. [applause] Our Republic has been and will be open to everyone and everything that respects and strengthens independence and sovereignty of our people and country, just as it has been and always will be closed to everyone and everything that encroaches on and impairs our national independence and sovereignty, the freedom we are enjoying today, and our socialist life.

We did not make the road of our progress and political, economic, or social development conditional on foreign factors, of whatever nature, and we do not depend on

them. The opposite has occurred. Complete independence in every field of life and unlimited sovereignty and freedom of action in all areas have always been and remain the foundations of our development.

The Albanian people and their AWP will even live on grass if need be, but they will never sell themselves for 30 pieces of silver, and prefer to die on their feet and with honor rather than live with shame and in subjugation, stated Enver Hoxha to the Khrushchevites when the latter broke off all relations with our country. [applause] This is the message of our entire national history: to be our own masters, to jealously safeguard freedom and independence, Marxist-Leninist principles, and socialism, and to strengthen them under whatever circumstances.

Of course, when we stress our unflinching will to strengthen our freedom and national independence, we do not fail to emphasize the internationalist spirit of the policy of our party and state. We do not intend to stand aside from the rest of the world, or to live in isolation. We do not hesitate to cooperate with others and we do not fear their power and wealth. On the contrary, we ask for this cooperation, for we consider it a factor in assisting our domestic development, but provided that it is of mutual benefit, equal, does not encroach on the sovereignty and social system of each country, is not being associated with the slightest form of interference in the internal affairs of each other, and does not assume even the remotest semblance of diktat or pressure.

At the same time, we desire and make efforts to ensure that this cooperation serves rapprochement and friendship among peoples, increased understanding and confidence among them, and stronger general peace and security.

Comrades, at present, the entire country has been mobilized to bring to life the decisions of the Ninth Congress of the party, to fulfill the state plan in all fields and sectors. The tasks we are confronted with are great and the targets we have set ourselves cannot be achieved easily. They are rendered more difficult if we bear in mind the damage caused by the continuing drought, with its shortage of water and energy, whose negative effects are being felt in agriculture and in all industrial and export sectors. More labor, sweat, study, and effort is therefore demanded of all of us. Life has taught us that only labor and energy can overcome difficulties and fulfill plans. Only the mobilization of all our energies, adding to and boosting all our efforts, can lead to the development and progress of the nation.

Therefore, comrades, let us always work with that powerful patriotic passion and lofty revolutionary spirit which have characterized our people, to promote the socialist economy which is the unshakable basis of the freedom and independence of our homeland and the fundamental precondition for its progress. Let us march as always on a broad front, organized and disciplined, devoting the greatest care to the development of education and culture, and to our new science, without which the progress and prosperity of the country cannot be imagined or attained. Let us never reduce our efforts to enhance our people's defense, the guarantee of our present and future. Let us spare no effort to keep intact and further forge the moral-political unity of the people and the people's power, that great driving force, which always propels our society forward, and which represents the steel defense of the victories we have achieved.

We have gained all our victories under the leadership of the party and guided by its teachings. Therefore, as on every occasion, on this day of joy and celebration we too express our boundless confidence in its correct leadership, in the teachings of Comrade Enver Hoxha, and in the path blazed by him. We express our certainty and unshakable conviction that, striding along this path, Albania will always remain free and independent, and that our people will enjoy their happy socialist life for ever.

Long live the 75th anniversary of the proclamation of independence. Long live the glorious anniversary of the liberation of the homeland. [applause] I invite you to raise a toast to our heroic people, and particularly the patriotic people of Vlore, to the glorious party that leads us, to the struggle for the liberation of the homeland and the socialist construction of the nation, and I greet all those present here today. [applause]

Carcani Speech

AU281955 Tirana Domestic Service in Albanian 1430 GMT 28 Nov 87

[Speech by Adil Carcani, AWP Central Committee Politburo Member, at rally marking 75th anniversary of Albanian independence, in Vlore on 28 November—recorded]

[Text] Dear comrades, brothers and sisters, respected friends: Today the people of Vlore and all Albania are celebrating two noted days in our national history: the 75th anniversary of the proclamation of independence, and the 43d anniversary of the liberation of the homeland. These are our two greatest victories, the most brilliant pages in our history, written in the blood of our ancestors and the blood of the glorious partisan warriors, which stand like two steel pillars at the foundations of the freedom and independence of the homeland. The Albanian people come to these fine festivals happy and proud, free and renewed, and always united as one around our party and its Central Committee with Comrade Alia at its head.[applause] They are celebrating these days with magnificent achievements in all fields and with high international prestige, and totally mobilized to bring to life the decisions of the ninth party congress. On the occasion of this noted historical date and great national festival, allow me to convey to you and to all the Albanian people, and to all Albanians outside the homeland, wherever they may be, greetings

in the name of the AWP Central Committee, the Presidium of the People's Assembly, the Council of Ministers and the General Council of the Democratic Front of Albania, wishing you all a happy celebration of these great November festivals. [applause; shouts of "party-Enver"]

The Albanian people have struggled for centuries to be free and independent, but their dreams were realized only 75 years ago, on 28 November 1912. Representatives of the nation came from different provinces of the country, gathered here in Vlore, and made the historic decision that Albania should be free and independent. This historic act laid the foundations of the independent Albanian state. The distinguished patriot Ismail Qemali, and the members of the provisional government, broadcast the news of the important event at Vlore to the entire homeland, and to all Albanians abroad, wherever they were. They told the great powers and the states of the Balkans of the political independence of our country. The new state that was created embarked upon its own road to affirm itself as a nation state with equal rights with the Balkan and European states. The proclamation of independence represented a radical turning point in the life of the nation, and it is indeed true, as Comrade Enver Hoxha said, that this event was the most notable one after almost 5 centuries of slavery, crowning the efforts and struggle of our ancestors for freedom from savage Ottoman starvation and domination. Thus closed the era of centuries-old suffering and of the forces of medieval darkness and slavery. The heroic struggle of entire generations with gun and pen for freedom and independence was crowned with success.

On 28 November 1912, the rights of an ancient people—indigenous in their territories, with their own language, culture, individuality, and history—were sanctioned. The proclamation of Albania's independence confirmed once again the great truth that a brave and freedom-loving people, no matter how few in number, cannot be defeated, made to disappear, or assimilated. The Albanian people have always been characterized by lofty patriotism. The difficulties, sufferings, and wars have equipped the Albanian people with lofty moral qualities and a rare capability to resist, thus enabling them for centuries on end to meet the storms of history, numerous invasions by the largest empires of the time, and all those who wanted to annex them in their own chauvinistic interests.

Albanian independence was not the offspring of the will of large powers and was not a matter of chance. It was the deed of the Albanian people themselves, in all the territories they inhabited. It was supported by a wealth of deeply-rooted traditions in the life and spirit of the Albanians, by centuries-old traditions, the most brilliant which includes the era of legendary struggles led by the national hero, Gjergj Kastrioti, and all the other heroic struggles against the Ottoman invaders. Our country's mountains and plains witnessed the battles waged by the brave men of Gjoleka, Rrapo Hekali, and Binak Alia. It was the popular masses who supported the League of Prizren, who stood up more than once in the battles against the Empire of the Sultans, against the neighboring monarchies, and against the coalition of the big powers, and fought to defend the legitimate rights of the Albanian national and the integrity of their territories.

Sulejman Vokshi and Mic Sokoli, Ali Ibra and Moisi Spahiu, Jakup Berri, Ramadan Zaskoshi and thousands of others did not hesitate to raise their weapons against all in the name of the sacred freedom of their country. The League of Peje toward the end of the 19th century, the patriotic wars at the beginning of our century, the regional and national assemblies of the Albanians, and the great anti-Ottoman insurgencies in 1910, 1911, and 1912—this entire chain of heroic events, opened the way to the Proclamation of Independence. The names of those distinguished fighters—Themistokli Germenji and Spiro Ballkameni, Cerciz Topulli and Ded Gjo Luli, Isa Boletini and Bajram Curri, and of many more distinguished men from the four corners of Albania—will be respectfully remembered forever. It was the ordinary people of our country, and primarily the patriotic peasantry, who took up their weapons whenever Mother Albania summoned them, who sacrificed their lives on the country's altar, and whose homes were burned down several times in the name of freedom.

The brilliant minds of the leaders of the Albanian renaissance are closely linked with Albania's independence, those who fought ardently with their pens to disseminate knowledge and to mold the national consciousness, and in defense of the undeniable historic rights of the Albanian nation. Naum Veqilharxhi and Jani Vreto, Konstandin Kristoforidhi and Pashko Vasa, the brothers Frasheri and Ymer Prizreni, Jeronim de Rada and Haxhi Zeka, Ndre Mjeda and Petro Nini Luarasi, Sevaster Qirjazi and Mihal Grameno, Dervish Hima and Hasan Prishtina, and many more thinkers, organizers, leaders, writers, and teachers, were those who, turning their pens into rifles, gave momentum, a correct direction, and a clear program to the movement. The heroic struggle of the popular masses and of the distinguished leaders of the nation led to the victory of 28 November 1912. A handful of patriots emerging from the bosom of the liberation movement and led by the great son and hero of the Albanian people, Ismail Qemali, and by his close collaborators, Luigj Gurakuqi, Nikolla Kacorri, Vehbi Dibra, Murat Toptani, and others, raised the Flag of Independence here in heroic Vlore. [applause]

The great deed of the Proclamation of Independence, whose 75th anniversary we commemorate today, is remembered by the generations in socialist Albania with a great sense of respect and profound gratitude. The Albanian nation bows today before the memory of those who prepared independence and proclaimed it in November 1912, those who laid down their lives in the name of the ideal of freedom and independence, unity, and national unity. The heroic act in Vlore laid the

foundations of the new sovereign Albanian state and Albania, after nearly 500 years of serfdom, began its new independent life. In those days, however, the law was made by imperialism, the sworn enemy of the peoples. After the act of raising the flag, the sword of the big powers was to come down once again on Albanian soil, as in the time of the League of Prizren. The intertwining of imperialist interests and rivalries and the plundering ambitions of the neighboring monarchies led to a great historic injustice, to the partition of Albanian territories. With the passing of years, the independent Albanian state and our long-suffering people had to face up to new storms from all directions. The 75 years that have elapsed since the proclamation of independence are filled with events which reconfirmed the vitality of the Albanian people and their determination to live free and independent.

Heroic Vlore occupies a place of honor in the struggles for freedom and independence. The fact that the Assembly that proclaimed Albania's Independence and the fact that the National Flag was raised here in Vlore was not a matter of chance. The people of Vlore, particularly the peasantry, have always distinguished themselves for their ardent patriotism and rare bravery in all the battles for freedom, independence, and for national and social liberation. Closely linked with the party, Vlore and its people, who gave birth to such brave men as Hysni Kapo, became one of the broadest and most powerful bases of the National Liberation Movement, and are today in the first line of the struggle for building socialism and the defense of the victories of the Revolution. [applause, shouts of "Enver, Party, We Are Always Ready"]

Dear comrades, the Albanian people gained their independence 75 years ago, but because of the oppressive policy of antipeoples regimes, they were not able to enjoy it. Albania gained its genuine freedom and independence only on 29 November 1944, owing to the national liberation struggle organized and led by the Albanian Communist Party founded and guided by our unforgettable and beloved leader, our legendary commander, Comrade Enver Hoxha, with rare wisdom and a sure hand. [applause, shouts of "Enver Hoxha"] This is also the greatest event in our country's history because it marked the liberation of the people once and for all time from the foreign invaders, as well as from social oppression and exploitation. There began a new era which the people call the party's era. The period of the heroic national liberation war bears the hallmark of the our glorious party, of its revolutionary thinking and action. The party inherited and raised to an even higher level the best traditions of our people, their boundless affection for freedom and independence, their bravery and determination to secure victory at all costs, their wisdom and intelligence to thwart the innumerable intrigues and traps of the foreign and domestic enemies. It distinguished itself above everything else for its Marxist-Leninist ideology which guided it and provided the unfailing compass enabling it to go on always from one victory to the next.

The antifascist national liberation struggle was born and developed as a movement of the Albanian people themselves, with a clear revolutionary strategy worked out by our party and its great and glorious leader, Comrade Enver Hoxha. [applause, shouts of "Enver Hoxha"] It was the continuation on a new scale of the centuries-old struggle of our people and of the consistent implementation of the principle of self-reliance. Fighting to secure the broadest possible unity of the popular masses, the party united in one single front all the most progressive forces in Albanian society, regardless of religion, region, and idea. The antifascist national liberation front represented the highest degree of our national unity. It viewed the struggle against the fascist invaders and for freedom and national independence to be inseparable from the struggle for social emancipation. During its course, although it developed gradually into a genuine anti-imperialist and democratic people's revolution, it retained its national liberation nature to the very end. The markedly popular essence and the revolutionary methods of the struggle, the reliance on the vitality and inexhaustible might of the people, their unification in one single front, the destruction of the old regime and the creation of the new people's revolutionary authority constitute the distinguished features of the antifascist national liberation movement, placing it rightfully in the place of honor in the glorious history of our people.

The national liberation struggle successfully fulfilled the ardent aspirations and the numerous efforts of the Albanians for freedom, independence, and social progress. Regarding the number of problems that it resolved, it cannot be compared with any other event in the life of the nation. The experience of this struggle showed once again that only the Communist Party was capable of operating as a genuine and great political force, which reflected and defended to the very end the interests of the people and the country, and of their freedom and independence, by providing the example of an heroic and indomitable fighter in this struggle. The new people's state, rejecting all ties of enslaving dependence on the imperialist powers, overthrowing feudal-bourgeois production relations once and for all, and abolishing the exploitation of man by man, undertook a range of great revolutionary transformations, which paved broad roads for the dynamic economic and social development of the nation. The achievements of these past 4 decades in the economic field are such as even to surpass the expectations of the men of our renaissance and its most advanced democrats. The industrialization of the nation, and the socialist transformation of agriculture, have totally changed the face of the homeland. Albania, once backward, is today an advanced agricultural-industrial country, and progresses with sure steps toward becoming an advanced industrial-agricultural country. Regarding the living standards of the working people, workers, and peasantry, there can be no comparison with the past. Hunger and poverty, unemployment and insecurity, moral and spiritual degeneration are unknown to the young people of our country. The successful achievement of a deep ideological and cultural revolution, has

opened the doors of knowledge to the broad working masses, and has created and educated a new kind of man in our country. The development of our country has not been easy and straightforward. It has been achieved through bitter class struggle, and through labor, and great efforts. The party has blazed new paths in this struggle in the construction of socialism in our country, further enriching the theory and practice of scientific socialism.

The stones which the Assembly of Vlore laid at the foundations of Albanian independence were cemented by the blood of thousands of martyrs, by the effort and sweat of an entire people, which under the leadership of the party wrote and continues to write the most brilliant pages of its history. Glory to the martyrs of the National Liberation War, who shed their blood for the happy days we enjoy today. [applause]

Dear comrades, in these new days of our people, our party once again lays before the people the need to raise the zeal and enthusiasm of working people to a higher level to successfully fulfill the plans and great tasks set by the Ninth AWP Congress, to always harvest fresh victories on the front of socialist construction, and to strengthen and further adorn the homeland. The experience of the great struggle of the working masses toward achieving our victories in all fields will lead us further forward, always progressing securely under the leadership of the party, its Central Committee, and Comrade Ramiz Alia, toward new and great victories. [applause]

Our great struggles and efforts, both in the performance of tasks on the domestic front, and in the correct and principled foreign policy of our country, will lead us as ever from success to success, toward new victories.

Long live the heroic Albanian people! Long live the people of Vlore! Long live 28 and 29 November! Long live our heroic party! Long live the achievement and immortal life of Comrade Enver Hoxha! [applause, shouts of "Party-Enver"]

Officials Attend Reception

AU291640 Tirana ATA in English
0745 GMT 29 Nov 87

[Text] Tirana, Nov 29 (ATA)—On occasion of the 75th anniversary of the proclamation of national independence and the 43rd anniversary of the liberation of the homeland and the triumph of the People's Revolution, the Central Committee of the party; the Presidium of the People's Assembly; the Council of Ministers; and the Party Committee and the Executive Committee of the People's Council of Vlore District gave a reception at Adriatiku Hotel on November 28.

Attending were Comrade Ramiz Alia, first secretary of the Central Committee of the party and president of the Presidium of the People's Assembly and the other party and state leaders; Comrades Adil Carcani, member of the Political Bureau of the Central Committee of the party and chairman of the Council of Ministers; the members of the Political Bureau of the Central Committee of the party, Foto Cami, Lenka Cuko, Manush Myftiu, Prokop Murra, Rita Marko, Simon Stefani; Vangjel Cerrava, alternate member of the Political Bureau of the Central Committee of the party, as well as Nexhmije Hoxha, chairwoman of the Democratic Front of Albania; Shefqet Peci, Chairman of the National Committee of the War Veterans of the Albanian People; members of the Central Committee of the party, Presidium of the People's Assembly and Government, leading cadres of central mass organizations, etc.

Present were also heads of the diplomatic representations accredited to the People's Socialist Republic of Albania.

Comrade Ramiz Alia greeted those present.

The speech of Comrade Ramiz Alia was often punctuated by applauses and acclamations for our glorious party.

The reception passed in a very joyful atmosphere.

Homage Paid at Cemeteries

AU291734 Tirana Domestic Service in Albanian
1700 GMT 29 Nov 87

[Text] On the occasion of the 43d anniversary of the country's liberation and the triumph of the people's revolution, homage was paid this morning at the Martyrs of the Nation Cemetery in Tirana. Wreaths were laid by comrades Hajredin Celiku, Hekuran Isai, and Besnik Bekteshi, AWP Central Committee Politburo members; Pirro, Kondi, Kico Mustaqi, and Llambi Gegprifti, AWP Central Committee Politburo candidate members; Xhafer Spahiu, deputy chairman of the Presidium of the People's Assembly, and others.

Wreaths were laid by the party and state leaders at the foot of the Mother Albania monument. Flowers were also laid in respect on the grave of the beloved and unforgettable leader, Comrade Enver Hoxha, as well as on the graves of comrades Hysni Kapo, Gogo Nushi, and Qemal Stafa.

Homage was also paid this morning at the Vlore Martyrs Cemetery by Comrade Ramiz Alia, AWP Central Committee first secretary and chairman of the Presidium of the People's Assembly; Comrade Adil Carcani, AWP Central Committee Politburo member and chairman of the Council of Ministers; and by Foto Cami, Lenka Cuko, Manush Myftiu, Prokop Murra, Rita Marko, and Simon Stefani, AWP Central Committee Politburo members; Vangjel Cerrava, AWP Central Committee Politburo candidate member and deputy chairman of the Council of Ministers, and other comrades.

Plaka, Delegation Return From Turkey
AU291742 Tirana ATA in English 0920 GMT 29 Nov 87

[Text] Tirana, Nov 29 (ATA)—The delegation of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the People's Socialist Republic of Albania, headed by Sokrat Plaka, vice minister of foreign affairs, which at the invitation of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the Republic of Turkey paid an official and friendly visit to that country, returned home.

Leaders' Public Appearances 22-28 November

AU282123 [Editorial Report] Tirana Domestic Service in Albanian in its broadcasts from 22-28 November reports the following public appearances of Albanian leaders (time and date of broadcast in parentheses):

Ramiz Alia, AWP Central Committee first secretary and chairman of the Presidium of the People's Assembly; Adil Carcani, AWP Central Committee Politburo member and chairman of the Council of Ministers; Besnik Bekteshi, Foto Cami, Hekuran Isai, Lenka Cuko, Manush Myftiu, and Prokop Murra, AWP Central Committee Politburo members; Pirro Kondi, AWP Central Committee Politburo candidate member and Tirana District AWP Committee first secretary; and Nexhmije Hoxha, AWP Central Committee member and President of the General Council of the Albanian Democratic Front attended on 23 November a scientific session held in Tirana on the occasion of the 75th anniversary of the Proclamation of Albania's Independence. (1900 GMT 23 November)

Ramiz Alia, Adil Carcani, Foto Cami, Lenka Cuko, Manush Myftiu, Prokop Murra, Rita Marko, Simon Stefani, Vangjel Cerrava, and Nexhmije Hoxha attended a rally in the city of Vlore, on 28 November, to mark the 75th anniversary of the Declaration of Albania's Independence, which was addressed by Adil Carcani. (1430 GMT 28 November)

Rita Marko, AWP Central Committee Politburo member and deputy chairman of the Presidium of the People's Assembly; and Kico Mustaqi, AWP Central Committee Politburo candidate member and chief of the General Staff of the People's Army, attended on 25 November an exhibition of relics and books pertaining to the Proclamation of Albania's Independence. (1900 GMT 25 November)

Manush Myftiu, AWP Central Committee Politburo member and deputy chairman of the Council of Ministers attended on 26 November a meeting of the Lushnje District People's Council, which examined the development of culture in rural areas. (1900 GMT 26 November)

Charter 77 Plans Human Rights Demonstration

AU300804 Paris AFP in English 0553 GMT 30 Nov 87

[Text] Prague, Nov 30 (AFP)—The Czech human rights organization Charter 77 announced Sunday that it was to organize a street demonstration in Prague—the first since the group was founded—on December 10, designated by the United Nations as Human Rights Day.

Charter 77 said in a statement that the decision to organise a "peaceful demonstration" in the old quarter of the Czech capital had been taken Saturday at a "forum" of 70 "citizens from the various regions of Czechoslovakia".

Participants at the "forum" asked Charter 77's spokesmen to announce the demonstration to the authorities so that if a ban was called "everyone would have to decide for themselves whether or not to take part", the statement said. A week earlier, Czech police warned several Charter 77 leaders that they would face legal action if they took part in a public demonstration, saying that a human rights demonstration of the kind envisaged would "endanger the process of democratization currently in progress in Czechoslovakia".

After the Charter 77 "forum", participants noted that police had not intervened at the meeting and said they had decided to hold similar meetings "at regular two-month intervals".

Soviet Trade Minister Begins Visit

LD251354 Prague CTK in English 1247 GMT 25 Nov 87

[Text] Prague Nov 25 (CTK)—Soviet Foreign Trade Minister Boris Aristov arrived here today to discuss questions connected with the preparation of a protocol on the exchange of goods between Czechoslovakia and the Soviet Union in 1988.

A working session started in the afternoon.

Jakes Receives Aristov

LD262113 Prague CTK in English 1609 GMT 26 Nov 87

[Text] Prague Nov 26 (CTK)—Czechoslovak Communist Party Presidium member and Secretary Milos Jakes today received visiting Soviet Foreign Trade Minister Boris Aristov.

Their friendly and open discussion was dominated by Czechoslovak-Soviet trade relations and the possibilities of their development. Experiences were also exchanged in improving the system of management of external economic relations in the conditions of restructuring the economic mechanism.

Both sides expressed interest in further promoting mutual trade, especially in engineering and consumer goods. It was noted that broad possibilities exist for this, including new forms of cooperation, especially through direct relations, and that full use should be made of them.

Strougal Meets Aristov

LD271314 Prague CTK in English 1253 GMT 27 Nov 87

[Text] Prague Nov 27 (CTK)—Czechoslovak Premier Lubomir Strougal and Soviet Foreign Trade Minister Boris Aristov discussed here today Czechoslovak-Soviet trade exchange in connection with the two countries' governments decision on increasing technological quality of mutually exchanged products and equipment.

They stated that their countries are entering a new and demanding stage in mutual trade relations within the framework of economic reforms now under way in the USSR and Czechoslovakia. On this occasion Boris Aristov stated that the two countries will enter the 1988 period well prepared as a protocol on mutual supplies of goods and payments for the next year was prepared ahead of time and in the required extent.

Lubomir Strougal appreciated the work of the two countries' foreign trade ministries aimed at further developing stimuli originating from the talks between the top representatives and the recent meeting of the two countries premiers.

Jakes, USSR's Gostev Discuss Relations

LD280032 Prague Domestic Service in Slovak 1600 GMT 27 Nov 87

[Text] A working meeting took place in Prague today between Milos Jakes, member of the Presidium and secretary of the CPCZ Central Committee, and Boris Gostev, Soviet minister of finance. During their talk they discussed the further development of economic and financial relations between the two countries.

Husak Receives Soviet Ambassador

LD281515 Prague Domestic Service in Czech 1730 GMT 27 Nov 87

[Text] Gustav Husak, general secretary of the CPCZ Central Committee and president of the republic, today received Viktor Lomakin, the Soviet ambassador to Czechoslovakia, with whom he discussed some topical issues concerning cooperation between the two countries.

Chnoupek, Genscher Discuss Coexistence
LD262357 Prague CTK in English 2141 GMT 26 Nov 87

[Text] Prague Nov 26 (CTK)—Today's Czechoslovak-West German talks confirmed identity or closeness of views on many international issues, Foreign Minister Bohuslav Chnoupek said at a dinner he was giving for his colleague Hans-Dietrich Genscher this evening.

These views concerned mainly the conviction that in the nuclear and space age it is impossible to solve disputes in a military way, permit mistakes in political judgement or decision and certainly not hamper this agreement of views by egotism, distrust and bias, the foreign minister stressed.

He added that mutual interdependence of the present-day world and its progress require consistent orientation on creating a long-term, stable and guaranteed order, with the priority of all mankind over all others. The minister described this order as peaceful restructuring of international relations, a comprehensive system of international peace and security in which no one claims greater security than others. Such an approach gives correct answers to the key issues of the present, he said.

He noted that the idea of nuclear disarmant was turning into a working program and appreciated the results of the talks between the Soviet and U.S. foreign ministers in Geneva. The agreement prepared for signature will be of extraordinary importance for Czechoslovakia and West Germany and another seven states which are to participate in its implementation.

We expect that the signing of a treaty on eliminating medium- and shorter-range missiles will touch off a chain reaction, the minister said. It should lead to the liquidation of other classes of nuclear weapons, result in a ban on space militarization and lead to the all-round assessment of a future treaty on a 50 per cent reduction of strategic offensive weapons, to specification of stands on the non-annulment of the treaty limiting the system of anti-missile defence for an agreed time, as well as to the examination of a set of issues from cuts in other types of weapons to regional conflicts.

We appreciate the pledge of the Federal Government not to modernize Pershing-1a missiles, to liquidate them and not to replace them with other systems, Bohuslav Chnoupek told his West German colleague and said the pledge helped achieve the agreement between Washington and Moscow.

In another part of his address the minister expressed concern over plans for space militarization, statements about the substitution of liquidated missiles by conventional and nuclear arms buildup, as well as over the development of regional conflicts, especially in the Persian Gulf and in the Middle East and in Central America.

"We consider the principle of reasonable sufficiency of armed forces at the lowest possible level as the basis of increasing confidence", Bohuslav Chnoupek added. He reiterated Czechoslovakia's proposal to call an economic forum to Prague. Together with the German Democratic Republic, he said, we propose establishing a nuclear-free corridor on the line of contact between NATO and the Warsaw Treaty, as well as for a zone without chemical weapons in Central Europe. The minister welcomed the Soviet project for a radical reduction of military confrontation in the north of Europe and in the Arctic.

The minister noted that the development of relations between Czechoslovakia and West Germany was gaining in intensity and extent.

In his speech, Hans-Dietrich Genscher welcomed the completion of the Soviet-U.S. treaty on the liquidation of intermediate-range missiles as a historic step on the road to real disarmament. The Federal Republic of Germany worked for a successful conclusion of the talks and contributed its own substantial share. The impulses stemming from the treaty must be used for further arms control, the treaty must not remain an isolated act. "We want more security and the elimination of imbalance in all spheres of military forces," he said.

The West German foreign minister described as an extraordinarily urgent task early agreement about a world-wide ban on chemical weapons, and stressed the need for gradual achievement of stability in conventional arms at a lower level in the whole of Europe. At the end of the 20th century, security can be achieved only by cooperation.

Hans-Dietrich Genscher went on the say that ideological antagonisms will continue to exist. The big problems of the contemporary world can be solved only if the West and the East use their political energy and economic potentials to prevent the waste of valuable resources on senseless and excessive armament. This requires intensified political dialogue and development of cooperation on a broad basis.

The final act of the Helsinki Conference set the orientation on a peace set-up in Europe and this order will be permanent only if human rights observance and the right to the self-determination of nations is guaranteed for everybody and everywhere, Hans-Dietrich Genscher continued.

"Our two states are in the center of Europe, we are neighbors. We have different social systems and belong to different allied blocs. From this ensues our extraordinary responsibility for a peaceful future of Europe. It was evident during today's talks that our states are aware of this responsibility. We can build our relations on sound foundations. Cooperation has been developing to mutual benefit especially in the economic sphere, in the sphere of the living environment and in transport," the foreign minister said and added that his country was following

with sympathies Czechoslovakia's efforts for economic reforms and was interested in intensified economic relations and cooperation in transport, science, education and culture.

Afghan Party Delegation Continues Visit

Husak Receives Kawiani, Group

LD202252 Prague CTK in English 1812 GMT 20 Nov 87

[Text] Prague Nov 20 (CTK)—General Secretary of the Czechoslovak Communist Party and President Gustav Husak received here Friday in the presence of Central Committee Secretary Vasil Bilak a delegation of the People's Democratic Party of Afghanistan (PDPA), led by Politburo member and Central Committee Secretary Najmuddin Kawiani, which is on a working visit to Czechoslovakia at the invitation of the Czechoslovak Communist Party Central Committee.

The two officials informed each other about their parties' activities in the fulfilment of the tasks of the 17th Czechoslovak Communist Party congress and the 2nd PDPA national conference. They expressed satisfaction at the development of bilateral cooperation in all spheres.

Gustav Husak assured the Afghan guests of Czechoslovakia's full support and solidarity with the struggle of the Afghan people, led by PDPA, for the aims of the national democratic revolution and the policy of national reconciliation, for democratic, free and non-aligned Afghanistan.

Officials Sign Agreement

LD202256 Prague CTK in English 1521 GMT 20 Nov 87

[Text] Prague Nov 20 (CTK)—A new agreement on cooperation between the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia and the People's Democratic Party of Afghanistan [PDPA] was signed here today by the representatives of the two parties.

During their meeting, Czechoslovak Communist Party Presidium member and Central Committee Secretary Vasil Bilak and Afghan People's Democratic Party Politburo member and Central Committee Secretary Najmuddin Kawiani discussed the activities of their parties and world topics, and praised the usefulness and constructive atmosphere of the recent meeting in Moscow of representatives of political parties and movements.

The Afghan Party representative briefed Vasil Bilak on the activities of Afghan Party and State Bodies in pursuing the policy of national reconciliation. The two officials voiced readiness to further intensify cooperation between the two parties.

Najmuddin Kawiani heads an Afghan delegation which has been visiting this country since November 18.

Delegation Ends Visit

LD231506 Prague CTK in English 1234 GMT 23 Nov 87

[Text] Prague Nov 23 (CTK)—A delegation of the People's Democratic Party of Afghanistan, led by Politburo member and Central Committee secretary Najmuddin Kawyani, left Czechoslovakia today after a four-day visit.

During its stay, the deleagtion was received by Czechoslovak Communist Party General Secretary Gustav Husak and Party Presidium member and Central Committee secretary Vasil Bilak. An agreement on cooperation between the two parties was signed during the visit.

Netherlands Official Arrives for Trade Talks

LD281811 Prague CTK in English 1514 GMT 28 Nov 87

[Text] Prague Nov 28 (CTK)—Foreign Trade Minister of the Netherlands Yvonne van Rooy [title as received] arrived here today for talks on the further development her country is trade and industrial cooperation with Czechoslovakia.

Mrs. van Rooy was invited by Czechoslovak Foreign Trade Minister Bohumil Urban.

Indra Concludes Visit to India

Holds News Conference

LD251431 Prague Domestic Service in Slovak 1100 GMT 25 Nov 87

[Text] India: At the close of the official part of the visit by the Czechoslovak Federal Assembly delegation to India, Alois Indra, member of the CPCZ Central Committee Presidium and chairman of the Federal Assembly, gave a press conference. Slavomir Malickaj reports:

[Begin Malickaj recording] At the press conference Comrade Indra praised the friendship between Czechoslovakia and India, which the members of our delegation were able to witness at every step. The present stay of our deputies in Delhi, during which they will meet with leading officials of the Indian Parliament as well as with the highest representatives of the country, no doubt contributed to further development of cooperation.

Comrade Indra went on to say that the traditionally good relations between both countries are at the same time a contribution to the strengthening of peace and security in the world and an example of contacts between states with differing social systems. He also praised the active role of India in the Nonaligned Movement and the Delhi

Six. At the close Comrade Indra answered questions from Indian journalists, who were interested in various aspects of economic and social development of Czechoslovakia.

After the press conference our parliamentary delegation left by air for the state of Goa. [end recording]

'Satisfaction' With Visit

LD272303 Prague CTK in English 2015 GMT 27 Nov 87

[Text] New Delhi Nov 27 (CTK correspondent)—The aim of our visit was mainly to help intensify and extend all-round friendly cooperation between Czechoslovakia and India and strengthen the joint cause of peace, Alois Indra, chairman of the Czechoslovak Federal Assembly, has told CTK at the close of a visit of the assembly's delegation to India.

Alois Indra expressed satisfaction with the results of the visit, which began since November 22. The talks with Indian Prime Minister Rajiv Gandhi were dominated by the firm determination of Czechoslovakia and India to strive for the implementation of a program of disarmament and lasting peace.

The two countries look at the forthcoming meeting of the highest Soviet and U.S. representatives as a historic opportunity of mankind. We expect with hopes not only the signing of a treaty on the elimination of medium- and shorter-range nuclear missiles but also a number of impulses to further significant steps.

Identical or very close stands were expressed also in all other main questions discussed with Rajiv Gandi and other Indian officials, Alois Indra stated.

The trade turnover between Czechoslovakia and India is to double by the year 1990. The two countries want to develop higher forms of economic cooperation, mainly in production, capital projects and science and technology.

The exchange of experiences and views on the work of the highest representative and legislative bodies of India and Czechoslovakia was very useful. The two sides are determined to take joint actions in the peace efforts in the Inter-Parliamentary Union. A delegation of the Indian parliament at the highest level was invited to visit Czechoslovakia. The invitation was accepted, Alois Indra said.

Alois Indra praised India for its contribution to the world treasury of education, culture and arts and its positive role in the anti-war and anti-imperialist front, as well as for its effort to overcome the heritage of the colonial era.

Despite the long distance between the two countries, social and other differences, the nations of Czechoslovakia and India are linked with sincere friendship, Alois Indra concluded.

Indra Returns Home

LD272305 Prague Domestic Service in Czech 1500 GMT 27 Nov 87

[Text] The Federal Assembly delegation headed by its chairman, Alois Indra, member of the CPCZ Central Committee Presidium, returned today from its official visit to India. The visit took place at the invitation of the chairmen of the upper and lower houses of the Indian parliament.

Portuguese Communist Party Leader Visits

Husak Receives Cunhal

LD250008 Prague CTK in English 1724 GMT 25 Nov 87

[Text] Prague Nov 25 (CTK)—Czechoslovak Communist Party General Secretary and President Gustav Husak received Portuguese Communist Party General Secretary Alvaro Cunhal shortly after he arrived here on a visit today.

Discussing the international situation, the two officials stressed the historic significance of the Soviet-U.S. treaty on the liquidation of medium- and shorter-range missiles which is an important step on the road to a halt to the arms race and disarmament.

Gustav Husak and Alvaro Cunhal exchanged views on developments in the communist and workers' movement. They appreciated the recent Moscow meeting of representatives of communist, workers' and other progressive parties and movements, held during celebrations of the 70th anniversary of the Great October Socialist Revolution, and its contribution to the further strengthening of the joint struggle for democracy, national independence, socialism and peace.

Gustav Husak highly appreciated the level of cooperation, internationalist solidarity and all round relations between the communist parties of Czechoslovakia and Portugal, and the high-principled stands of the Portuguese Communist Party on questions of the domestic and international development.

Alvaro Cunhal praised the efforts exerted by the Czechoslovak people in the implementation of the tasks set by the 17th congress of the Czechoslovak Communist Party.

Prague Press Conference

LD260300 Prague CTK in English 2149 GMT 25 Nov 87

[Text] Prague Nov 25 (CTK)—Portuguese Communist Party General Secretary Alvaro Cunhal called his current visit to Czechoslovakia a visit in the spirit of friendship, cooperation and fraternity in an interview with Czechoslovak journalists today.

Answering a question concerning the Portuguese Communist Party's opinion on the presence of persons from the Mozambican and Angolan anti-government groups—RENAMO [Mozambique National Resistance] and UNITA [National Union for the Total Independence of Angola] on Portuguese territory, Alvaro Cunhal resolutely condemned this fact which helps neither Angola nor Mozambique. On the contrary, it stimulates terrorist activity on the territory of these African states, which is supported by the South African racist regime as well as by the U.S. and imperialist forces.

The Portuguese Communist Party has always sympathized with the struggle of Angolan as well as Mozambican people and with the people of all African countries, who still have to fight for their countries' independence.

Referring to the Portuguese right wing's decisive victory in the last elections, Alvaro Cunhal said that the Communist Party's opinion is that the great number of votes the right-wing government received does not reflect support for its policy. The government's social and political background is considerably more narrow than the election results would suggest. Many people have voted under the influence of promises of stability and a halt to the crisis and also of certain successes of the government's economic policy. These have resulted mainly from the fall of the dollar, the growth of prices of exported agricultural products and other international factors advantageous for Portugal at the moment. Many people have voted under the influence of illusions they still have to wake from. Today many people who have voted for the government are turning against it. That is why we say that the right-wing government's social base is considerably weaker than its election base. And this process will continue, the general secretary stressed, concluding that Portuguese Communists have a very clear feeling of the Portuguese people's optimism and confidence.

26 Nov Departure

LD262230 Prague CTK in English 1946 GMT 26 Nov 87

[Text] Prague Nov 26 (CTK)—General Secretary of the Portuguese Communist Party Alvaro Cunhal ended his two-day visit to Czechoslovakia and left for home today. During the visit he discussed the international situation and relations between the two parties and countries with Czechoslovak Communist Party General Secretary and President Gustav Husak.

Commission Reviews Discussion of Draft Bill

LD240318 Prague Domestic Service in Czech 1700 GMT 23 Nov 87

[Text] Under the chairmanship of Comrade Milos Jakes, the National Economy Commission of the CPCZ Central Committee met in Prague today. It discussed the progress of public debate on the draft bill on state enterprise. During a rich and businesslike debate, commission members appreciated the progress and results of the discussion in which a great number of working teams and individuals from all strata of society voiced their views on the draft bill and started the final processing of the more than 70,000 proposals and comments. They stressed the active role of party and trade union organizations, which contributed almost two-thirds of the specific comments and proposals. They also appreciated the contribution of the mass media. They noted that the public debate has become an important element in strengthening socialist democracy and in winning the workers' support for restructuring our society.

Commission members critically singled out the fact that the discussion of the draft bill has not been in a number of cases linked with safeguarding the implementation of tasks of the state plan for this year, above all in the qualitative indexes, with the effort for growth in intensification, quality, and efficiency and with a responsible preparation of the state plan for next year.

The National Economy Commission of the CPCZ Central Committee then also discussed the comprehensive document concerning the restructuring of the economic mechanism. Commission members, in a broad and constructive discussion, agreed that the submitted version of the comprehensive document represents a necessary basis for the implementation of basic changes in the system of management of the national economy which will ensure the strategy of acceleration of the national and social development of Czechoslovakia set by the 17th party congress. At the same time, commission members noted that in the comprehensive document there still remain a number of open or insufficiently worked out questions and problems which have to be solved. Commission members also stressed the need to distinguish between targets and gradual preparatory measures of the restructuring of the economic mechanism, including the creation of conditions for resolving the existing disproportions in the basic assets of individual enterprises. In this connection, they recommend checking more broadly on an experimental basis the effects of individual measures in order for the new mechanism to be realistic and effective.

The session of the National Economy Commission of the CPCZ Central Committee was attended by Comrades Karel Hoffmann and Josef Haman.

Vital Cadre Policy Analyzed

AU231938 Prague RUDE PRAVO in Czech 21 Nov 87 p 1

[Editorial: "Demands of the Times, and the Cadres"]

[Excerpts] There is no doubt that one of the most complicated tasks facing us is our economy's transition. Social development not only verifies the possibilities and potential of our economy, but also tests the people's qualities, above all, executive staffs at all levels. During the last few months our *Rude Pravo* has been publishing articles on this topic in the column entitled "Cadres, and the Demands of Restructuring." It has become obvious that this is a very pressing social topic. [passage omitted]

The authors of contributions to the discussion (published since 20 May 1987) speak of their good and bad experiences, but they all agree on the justified and lastingly valid demand: that executive positions and economic and political functions should be held, and work collectives headed by people with professional skills who are reliable, politically mature, and morally irreproachable. Such people always enjoy trust and support. This is also how cadre work was and is being carried out in the overwhelming majority of cases.

Nevertheless our present practices sometimes show us how easily bad cadre work can become an obstacle. For example, we have enterprises and plants where people in executive positions are replaced far more frequently than is healthy. As a rule, deeper analysis shows that one of the (not at all negligible) reasons for this is cadre work on a day-to-day basis, without any continuity between stabilization and the necessary change of cadres. Our present social practices demand new approaches. [passage omitted]

We have already reported that on Thursday [19 November] the CPCZ Central Committee Presidium dealt with the draft measures for improving cadre policy after the 17th CPCZ Congress. It stressed that the growing significance of cadre work makes it essential to link it in all sectors with the new tasks which are being solved by the party in restructuring the economic mechanism and other areas of the society's life.

The CPCZ Central Committee Presidium recalled that collective and democratic principles must be consistently implemented in cadre work; that selections should always be made from among several candidates; and that competitive tendering and voting should be the methods used for choosing an executive staff. Side by side with the communists one should also raise to positions of responsibility (and on a broader basis than previously) people who are not party members, or who are members of other parties and National Front organizations. In cadre work it is essential to set high demands on a person's political maturity, professional skills, and moral qualities.

To be sure, the ability to train successors in advance and to selflessly pass on one's experience to them is a criterion of political maturity of the cadres; however, it is the party agencies and organizations which are primarily responsible for the standards of cadre work. In fact, cadre policy is one of the most important tools in implementing the party's leading role. Selection from among several candidates will be realistic in the future too, but only in those places where people have already realized that the election principle does not mean salvation in every instance and if the training and education of the executive staff lack perspective and concept. [passage omitted]

It is most certainly impossible to change ancient stereotypes in management work overnight; but it is also impossible to ignore the fact that there are many places where they rule the thoughts and decisions of the executive staff. This was confirmed in the discussion on the draft law on state enterprise. Certain executives, particularly those on the level of economic production units, regard as decisive the organizational and structural aspects of the future arrangement of economic units, rather than the regular production in enterprises and their plan fulfillment. That is why the responsibility of party agencies, individual functionaries, and whole primary party organizations is all the greater.

They must enhance the executive staff's responsibility for the reliable ensurance of regular production operations, for high-quality production, and for the consistent realization of the adopted resolutions. This primarily applies to the exacting and principled implementation of the right of control, to checking on the accomplishment of decisive tasks, and to energetically enforcing a turn toward increased efficiency in production. At the same time it is the duty of the executive staff to acquaint the party organization and work collective with the measures that are being prepared for improving the situation in production, raising the level of discipline, and increasing order in workplaces, and to let them know what they have individually accomplished in this.

The claim that the fate of the reform (but not only the economic reform) will be decided on to a great extent by the cadres, is no exaggeration. The party agencies are establishing prerequisites for implementing the party's leading role under the new conditions by their good training, control, political guidance, and the support of the cadres.

Jakes Addresses Architects Congress

AU251012 Bratislava PRAVDA in Slovak 23 Nov 87 p 2

[Excerpts "from the speech" by Milos Jakes, member of the Presidium and secretary of the CPCZ Central Committee, at the Second Congress of the Union of Czechoslovak Architects in Prague on 21 November]

[Excerpts] [Passage omitted] The heroic 70-year road of the Soviet people and the resolutions of the historic 27th CPSU Congress, and of the January and June session of the CPSU Central Committee, were and are an inspiration for us and a source of instruction when implementing the resolutions of the 17th CPCZ Congress, which determined the strategy of the acceleration of the social and economic development for our country as well. [passage omitted]

We are striving to ensure that the people have extensive opportunities to make use of their creative potential and abilities, are able to play a part in deciding important issues concerning the development of their workplaces and where they live, and within the framework of the entire country as a whole. For this reason we have also been increasing the flow of information to the public [verejnu informovanost], creating conditions and guarantees for the genuine implementation of the citizens' democratic rights. This cannot be done without a struggle against bureaucratism, violation of socialist legality, discipline, and ethics, against all shortcomings which prevent our advancement. Democratization is the core of restructuring. It has to contribute to raising the people's social commitment and responsibility and it must strengthen their awareness of being the managers of their countries. However, more democracy does not just mean more rights, but also more responsibility and more creativity in the effort for the further development of society; it has nothing to do with anarchy and indiscipline.

The objectives and the purpose of restructuring must be properly explained to the people in all contexts. We cannot expect that everyone will comprehend them quickly. It means overcoming inertia in people's thinking and attitudes. Restructuring is not a matter of words, but of actions. It is a complex struggle which requires an active approach from everyone, but especially from ranking personnel. Everyone must begin with his own person.

Currently we are putting stress on the restructuring of the economy's management as the main prerequisite for the realization of the strategy of acceleration and the transition to the path of intensive development in the interest of the improvement of people's standard of living and strengthening their social security. In this most important sphere too, restructuring entails democratization. At the same time as improving central planning, we want to substantially strengthen the powers and the responsibility of enterprises in respect of satisfying the needs of society on the basis of economic accountability, self-financing, and socialist self-management, which will ensure that the working people participate broadly in decision-making and the selection of ranking personnel.

We want the incomes of work collectives and individuals to be based totally on results, this being the foundation of social justice, and we want to overcome egalitarianism, which is alien to socialism. This is the essence of the draft laws on state enterprises and cooperative organizations, which have been the subject of an extensive, democratic assessment.

To date, more than 65,000 suggestions and recommendations have been received on the draft Law on State Enterprises alone.

A number of new measures are already being implemented within the framework of the comprehensive experiment on increasing the independence and responsibility of economic organizations for development, which will be expanded next year to comprise about one-third of persons employed in industry. The experiment will also be implemented in the construction sector, trade, and services. However, not all details can be determined in advance. Life will provide the answer to some questions. Creating the conditions for restructuring the economic mechanism means to consistently fulfill the tasks of the Eighth 5-Year Plan. We cannot be satisfied with the results to date. We have considerable problems. Intensification is proceeding only slowly, despite the development of the national economy. The planned qualitative indicators are not being fulfilled, and the same applies to the growth of the national income, the reduction of material-, energy-, and wage-intensiveness involved in creating that income and production costs; the scientific-technical development does not fulfill the necessary role. Innovation is proceeding only slowly, and we cannot be satisfied with the quality of products. We have considerable problems in capital construction, especially as regards the completion of projects. The profitability of foreign trade remains low, and there are shortcomings as regards supplies to the domestic market. We must resolve these problems and eliminate shortcomings more resolutely. This requires increasing demands on everyone, improving management work, and channeling people's initiative in the right direction. Regarding the improvement in the standard of living—whether this concerns social or personal consumption—the fulfillment of tasks in this sphere is in accordance with the plan. [passage omitted] In the present-day world, which is stocked with nuclear weapons, peace and security are indivisible; they can be achieved only through a joint effort by all countries and nations. The offensive peace policy of the Soviet Union—which we fully endorse and in the implementation of which our country, in cooperation with the other socialist states, participates—is oriented toward the assertion of new thinking in international relations and setting up a comprehensive system of international peace. We regard the course of the talks between the USSR and the United States on the conclusion of a treaty on medium-range and operational-tactical missiles as an important step toward easing tension and creating guarantees for world peace, and we welcome the planned meeting between Mikhail Gorbachev and Ronald Reagan, from which we expect further concrete steps toward reducing the danger of war.

We will soon be marking the 40th anniversary of the Czechoslovak working people's victory over reaction in February 1948. The February revolution was the culmination of the struggle of our working people, led by the Communist Party, against capitalist exploitation. The working people of our fatherland then expressed their will for the development of the liberated state to embark upon the path of October, upon the path of socialism. We are also recalling the 20th anniversary of the crisis events of the 1968-69 period. The lesson which we have drawn from them is topical also under the conditions of restructuring.

In the current stage of our development—under the party's leadership and in cooperation with the Soviet Union and the other socialist countries—we are striving to make use of the undoubted advantages of socialism and achieve a new quality of life in socialist society. This is the reason that we have embarked upon the path of restructuring and democratization. We want to contribute to world socialism, showing even more convincingly the direction to the progressive development of the entire civilization and the path toward the realization of the humanitarian ideals of peace, social justice, and equality in relations among people and nations. [passage omitted]

Case of Illegal Returning Emigre Examined

AU271617 Bratislava PRAVDA in Slovak 26 Nov 87 p 7

[Bedrich Zagar commentary: "After Sobering Up—Return"]

[Text] The fortunes of illegal emigres vary. Most of them have lives marked by profound disappointment and unhappiness. Many emigrate because they had personal conflicts at home—with their parents, colleagues at work, or even with the law. There are also those who are attracted by adventure and the illusion of a "sweet life in the West." When they sober up, after a while, some of them—and not just a few—start on a downward path of crime, including robberies and murder. There has been more than one such case in neighboring Austria. There are also those who decide to return home.

One such case was the subject of an article entitled "Slovak Flees—Back to the East," which the Austrian newspaper *Kurier* published a few days ago. It was about 22-year-old Renata W., who left her home village of Zahorska Ves 6 months ago and went to Austria, via Yugoslavia. After a short stay in the Traiskirchen refugee camp, she worked illegally as a waitress in a Vienna bar. For a job well done, she got low wages and bad food. Naturally, this did not tally with the young Slovak's idea of life in the "golden West." That is why she decided to return home. But the question arose: How? As she did not have any valid travel documents, she had no choice but to leave Austria in the same way she had entered it—illegally. In the village of Angern on the Austrian side of the Morava river, she managed to get a fisherman's boat, in which she crossed the river to the other shore—straight to her home village of Zahorska Ves. Concluding its article, *Kurier* wrote: "The woman crammed all her belongings into the boat and rowed—carried by the current—to the other shore. Czechoslovak border guards noticed that something was going on on the Austrian side and switched on the floodlights. The woman managed to land on the Czechoslovak side without hindrance. No shots were heard."

Renata is back home. She is free and will not even be tried. Her case was evidently one of youthful foolishness. She, too, will surely realize that such an adventurous journey does not always have to have good ending. It will be a lesson for her the rest of her life. And, undoubtedly, not just for her...

'Ambitious' Computer Program Announced

AU231203 Prague RUDE PRAVO in Czech 19 Nov 87 p 1

["MS"-signed report: "Day of Personal Computers; Program for the Development of Computer Technology Through the Year 1990"]

[Excerpts] Prague—Speaking at the first nationwide meeting of producers and suppliers of personal computers with designated users and with journalists on Wednesday [18 November], Milan Kubat, CSSR minister of electrical engineering, announced the state program for the development, production, and use of personal computers in the national economy through the year 1990. [passage omitted]

The aims of the program are very ambitious. According to Minister M. Kubat, the electrical engineering industry will supply some 45,000 personal computers in 1988, of which almost one-third will be 16-bit computers. In the years 1988-90, it will supply a total of some 150,000 personal computers for professional use. If the newly established scientific-production association for microelectronics, in which a very important role will be played by the Agrokombinat Slusovice United Agricultural Cooperative, supplies roughly the same number of personal computers in this period, the national economy should avail itself of more than 300,000 personal computers, which should fully cover domestic requirements.

Computers of four different categories will be produced. The price of computers of the lowest category is currently in the range of Kcs5,000 to Kcs6,000 and prices in each of the successive categories are roughly two to four times higher. [passage omitted]

The program also provides for a higher reliability of personal computers, which has been a serious ailment of our computer technology thus far; the establishment of appropriate testing facilities is being prepared. [passage omitted]

The program will make use of both domestic resources and cooperation with socialist countries, where many things could stand an improvement. The program also provides for commercial cooperation with nonsocialist firms. [passage omitted]

'First Referendum in 40 Years' Held 29 Nov

Polls Open

LD290754 Warsaw PAP in English 0654 GMT 29 Nov 87

[Text] Warsaw, Nov. 29—The nationwide referendum started in Poland today with 26,780,000 people on the lists of those entitled to vote.

20,745 polling stations were opened at 0600 throughout the country to close at 2200.

The referendum's result will decide on the future of Poland's economic and socio-political life.

The referendum has aroused considerable interest of foreign mass media as some 200 newsmen got accredited here to follow its course. Minister Urban is expected to meet with journalists twice today.

The referendum results are expected to be known on Monday.

'Majority' Votes by 1400

LD291622 Warsaw PAP in English 1539 GMT 29 Nov 87

[Text] Warsaw, Nov. 29—The majority of eligible voters in Warsaw cast their ballots by 14:00. Some 60-percent turnout was reported in one of the Mokotow booths, while more than 56 percent of voters appeared at another polling station in the same district.

Also other Warsaw polling stations reported a high turnout, with 53 percent of eligible voters casting their ballots in two of the Ochota polling stations.

Turnout 55 Percent by 1700

LD291830 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 1810 GMT 29 Nov 87

[Text] The voting on the issues so important to us has been going on for more than 13 hours now. According to data for 1700, 55 percent of those eligible to vote have taken part in the referendum.

Cities' Turnout Figures

LD292043 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 2004 GMT 29 Nov 87

[Text] Here are some figures on the referendum turnout, as of 2000, concerning some Polish cities:

In Warsaw, the turnout was 60 percent; in Szczecin, 63 percent; in Poznan, also 63 percent; in Tarnobrzeg, 70 percent; in Kracow, 60 percent; in Katowice, 63 percent; and in Bydgoszcz, 70 percent.

Foreign Media Coverage

LD290347 Warsaw PAP in English 1529 GMT 28 Nov 87

[Text] Warsaw, Nov. 28—The referendum in Poland has aroused considerable interest of foreign mass media. Some 200 journalists of the press, radio and TV from all over the world got accredited at the *Interpress* Press Centre to follow the course of the referendum. TV teams from Canada, Sweden, Britain, Italy and Spain came and such well-known dailies and weeklies as the FRG *Stern*, the Italian *La Repubblica* and *L'Unita*, the French *Le Figaro* and *Le Matin*, the Spanish *El Globo*, the British *Observer* and the Japanese *Mainichi Shimbun* sent their reporters.

Foreign journalists were given chances to watch preparations for the voting and take part in press conferences on the referendum and the second stage of the economic reform. For the voting day itself, correspondents received press cards enabling them to follow the course of the referendum in rooms of district commissions.

Urban Press Conference

LD291947 Warsaw PAP in English 1822 GMT 29 Nov 87

[Text] Warsaw, Nov. 29—By 2 p.m. some 40 percent of eligible voters cast their ballots in today's referendum, Government Spokesman Jerzy Urban told foreign and home newsmen at today's press conference. This figure matches the number of people who voted in the Sejm (Parliamentary) elections as of 1 p.m. then, Urban added. According to observers, some half of the voters have no use for a ballot cabin.

The government spokesman informed newsmen that on the whole the voting went undisturbed, only in a few places there were attempts to demonstrate.

After the high-noon mass ended at St. Brygida's Church in Gdansk, coastal Poland, several hundreds of people formed a march and made for the city centre. Militia forces did not employ enforcement measures. Some of the demonstratore heeded the appeal for disbanding, others gathered in the vicinity of the railway station. Some of the protesters displayed aggressiveness towards militia officers, but failed to provoke them into action.

Also in Nowa Huta, near Kracow, and in the centre of Kracow itself, hints of a march formed after services in local churches. In both cases calls for disbanding were obeyed. Order-keeping forces did not have to use force.

Thus, the spokesman said, a vast majority of the population ignored appeals for disturbances.

Replying to a question about his sources of information on the voters' turnout, Urban said that the data was coming in from all voting districts, partly in order to keep the press filled in up-to-date.

More on Urban

LD292315 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 2200 GMT 29 Nov 87

[Excerpts] During a press conference with foreign correspondents and Polish journalists, Jerzy Urban, the government press spokesman, said that between 2400 and 0100 he would probably be able to give unofficial but authoritative data on the turnout at the referendum.

Next Jerzy Urban said that the government thanked those who had voted and supported the reform program. The desire for reform held by the majority of the citizens was a necessary initial condition of the success of the reforms themselves. [passage omitted]

The spokesman confirmed reports of the UPI agency that in front of the U.S. consulate six confederations of Independent Poland activists put out a banner reading: Our vote in the Referendum: Communists to Madagascar. He pointed out that this was a travesty of the prewar slogan: Jews to Madagascar. He said that the present slogan was put forward by a group that is a perpetuator of an extreme nationalistic prewar tradition.

Urban on RFE Campaign

LD292206 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 2004 GMT 29 Nov 87

[Text]Today, at his third meeting with Polish and foreign journalists, Jerzy Urban said:

[Begin Urban recording] The government thanks those who voted and supported the reform program, and those who intend to do this before 2200 tonight. If the majority of those who vote say yes to both questions then this will allow the Polish community to conduct radical and profound reforms, according to the drafts presented by the Polish authorities. For this will signify the approval of the majority for these drafts.

The victory of the reforms in the referendum does not yet signify the victory of reforms in Polish life. Only the effectiveness of the reforms will be a victory for the Poles. The referendum may, however, show the predominance of the will to reform. This is already a great deal. A will to reform, encompassing a majority of citizens, is an indispensable preliminary condition for the success of the reforms themselves.

I wish to inform the press, in particular the U.S. and the West German, that Free Europe has organized an unusually intensive concentrated campaign against the referendum in Poland. Its unconcealed aim was to incline people toward a boycott of the referendum, to mock and to put people off the reforms in Poland, and to convince them that nothing can come of them.

We shall prepare a documentation of this campaign. Use was made of every little group or person ready to discourage against the referendum and the reforms, to sow mistrust, to propagate a boycott. Every such statement was broadcast many times, and backed up by the station's own commentaries.

The U.S. Government encouraged reforms in Poland that were similar in their direction to the reforms that we have planned. It emphasized the need for a social dialogue. We have approached profound reforms by beginning with a democratic act: asking the citizens for their opinion; appealing to them for their approval.

Thus I ask, and this is not a rhetorical question, why a radio station controlled by the U.S. authorities is propagating, with unrelenting violence [gwaltownosc], something quite different from what the U.S. Government says in public?

Why does Radio Free Europe try to interfere persistently in the behavior of Poles in a direction that is opposed to the program of reforms. Is it perhaps some kind of sabotage on the part of the U.S. institution in Munich against Washington, or is it an insincere policy of using various instruments, which are playing melodies that are partially out of harmony.

I have some of today's reports from some Western agencies and I would like to comment on some of them. *Reuter* gave untrue information that in Gdansk several people were beaten today and one seriously injured was taken to the hospital. UPI informs untruely, reporting that opposition activists clashed with the police. It speaks an untruth that Poles voted on a government proposal for sacrifices; it is not a government proposal for sacrifice. It was defined as a government proposal for sacrifices, which could increase prices by as much as 200 percent. I do regard these characteristics as pertinent. The general rate of the projected price increases were given here. Further, UPI talks about people held by the militarized units of the civic militia using batons at the station. According to information from the Ministry of Internal Affairs batons were not used; thus, I negate that information. [end recording]

Warsaw Demonstrations

LD292145 Hamburg DPA in German 2104 GMT 29 Nov 87

[Excerpt] Warsaw (DPA)—There were brief demonstrations in several Polish cities on Sunday against the referendum on the government's reform proposals. In Warsaw 2,000 people attempted to form a procession in the evening after a service in the Stanislaw Kosta Church. They shouted: "This Is Your Referendum" and "End the Price Increases." The police blocked the path of the procession but hardly used force. The crowd, in which several Solidarity placards could be seen, dispersed after about 1 hour. About 8,000 people took part in the mass. [passage omitted]

Other Disturbances

LD292304 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 2200 GMT 29 Nov 87

[Text] Attempts to disturb the peace on the referendum day were made in Gdansk, Krakow, and Wroclaw.

In Gdansk, after a mass in St. Brygida Church, a group of about 300 young people attempted to disturb the public order and, scattering leaflets, behaved in a provocative manner. After the checking of the documents of some of the young people by the militia officers, the group dispersed.

Also in Krakow after a mass in the Church of the Dominican Brothers and in one of the churches in Nowa Huta-Bienczyce groups of young people attempted to disturb the peace.

In Wroclaw, in front of a polling station, four people were detained who disturbed the conduct of the referendum with their behavior.

Officials' Participation

LD300112 Warsaw PAP in English 0010 GMT 30 Nov 87

["Peoples Referendum—Day of Decision"—PAP headline]

[Text] Warsaw, Nov. 29—Sunday, November 29th was a day of decision. In Poland participation in elections or referendum is not obligatory as in, for example, Belgium or Turkey. Therefore, the fact that so many citizens decided to express their opinion through the referendum takes on additional significance.

The turnout was highest in the villages. Attendance in the cities was slightly lower.

The numerical results still remain unknown and they will be announced at a later time. However, one thing is clear already today: The collective contemplation about the reform stimulated public activness, citizenly deliberation of joint matters.

The district commissions for the referendum opened at 0600. Simultaneously with the beginning of the voting turns of duty began in 49 voivodship commissions for the referendum and 2,401 basic level municipal, suburb, rural and town-rural commissions. Already as early as 0830 the district referendum commission in a small village of Lapszanka in the Polish Spisz Region was the first in the country to close.

At 0930 Wojciech Jaruzelski and his wife Barbara cast their votes in the historic "Krolikarnia" building in Warsaw's Mokotow District.

Zbigniew Messner together with his wife Irena voted in the district referendum commission on Koscielna Street in the new town in Warsaw.

Sejm Speaker Roman Malinowski answered the questions posed in the referendum in the district referendum commission on Rozbrat street.

Tadeusz Witold Mlynczak cast his ballot in the seat of the 140th district commission located on Parkowa Street.

Jan Dobraczynski voted in the referendum commission located in a school named after Piotr Wysocki in Warsaw's Praga Poludnie suburb.

Zenon Komender voted in referendum commission located in the main school of farming, Kazimierz Morawski—in a school in Warsaw's Sadyba suburb while Wieslaw Gwizdz cast his vote in the seat of a referendum commission located on Gornoslaska Street.

Alfred Miodowicz voted in a district referendum commission located in the Bienczyce housing estate in Nowa Huta (southern Poland).

"Casting a ballot in the referendum I feel as if I had signed an agreement. On the one hand, I agreed with the necessity of the conducting of quick economic changes the goal of which, as announced by members of the government and experts, is an improvement of Poland's situation and way out of an impasse. On the other, I made a pledge that I would not simply be a spectator of the changes but will strive, as far as my capabilities and strength allows, take part in the process of reforms," Jan Dobraczynski said.

According to data coming in from voivodship commissions for the referendum the percentage of participants until 2000 was: In Warsaw—about 60 percent of those eligible to vote, in Wroclaw—about 64 percent, in Szczecin—about 63 percent, in Krakow—about 60 percent, in Poznan—approximately 63 percent, in Tarnobrzeg—about 70 percent, in Katowice—about 63 percent and in Bydgoszcz—about 70 percent.

At 2200 on the dot the district commissions for the referendum were closed, the voting had ended. The commissions in full membership, after opening the ballot boxes, began counting the votes cast in the individual districts.

To a close observer of the course of the referendum—irrespective of how many Poles said "yes" and how many said "no", the suggestion presents itself that it was a new important act of national agreement of all those citizens who, despite doubts and questions, fears and reservations, nevertheless, want to efficiently work for their country.

Polls Close at 2200

LD292236 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 2200 GMT 29 Nov 87

[Excerpt] Punctually at 2200 district polling stations of the referendum commission were closed. Voting has ended. After the opening of the ballot boxes the commission started to count the results of the referendum in the individual districts.

According to data of the Central Commission for the Referendum, by 2000 63.8 percent of those eligible to vote across Poland had voted. [passage omitted]

Referendum Termed 'Success'

LD292302 Warsaw PAP in English 2215 GMT 29 Nov 87

[By Juliusz Solecki]

[Text] Warsaw, Nov. 29—Despite some Cassandric prophecies in the West, the first referendum in 40 years has been a success. A majority of Poles decided to use their democratic right to express an opinion on the country's crucial problems.

It is characteristic that the rural population, who had always followed the principle of "three s" (self-government, self-dependence, and self-financing) which is the foundation of the reform, came in largest numbers to the polls.

A more diversified picture of the turnout was in urban communities where the announcement of far-going reforms was often looked at through the prism of the not always encouraging experience known from one's own workplace, its economic situation, organization of work, systems of wages, etc.

It is in worker centres where the reformative current clashed with doubts and fears of a prospective strong differentiation in wages, the necessity of a temporary "belt tightening," etc.

Whatever the final results which will be known on Tuesday, one thing is certain: With the referendum Poland has made another major step on the road of reform and democratization of social life. Their supporters could see that they do not act alone, that they constitute a significant force.

It is to be hoped that the results of November 29th this time will not be a short-lived zeal, and that those who, for various reasons, stayed home with their doubts will, sooner or later, realize that their inhibitions were groundless.

Urban's Evening Conference

LD300137 Warsaw PAP in English 0124 GMT 30 Nov 87

[By Leszek Kubiak and Jerzy Redlich]

[Text] Warsaw, Nov. 30—According to preliminary, unofficial and non-final data approximately 68 percent of the Poles eligible to vote cast their ballots in yesterday's referendum, the government press spokesman said during a press conference held here during the night.

He added that this estimate was based on the number of people who arrived in voting stations. The final tally will be decided by the number of cards dropped into the ballot boxes. Urban also said that according to preliminary calculations the attendance was approximately 10 percent lower than during the last Sejm elections. "Those who stayed away did not want to take on the burden of choosing," Urban said.

Answering a question on to what extent a call issued by former Solidarnosc to boycott the referendum could have influenced the attendance, Urban said that the appeal failed since everybody saw the baselessness of this appeal.

"I think that this influence was very negligible. The attendance was influenced by the population's attitude towards reforms, the announced information about the scale of wage and price rises and about the social costs of the changes, as well as the difficulties on the market and in everyday life which shape moods. However, I think that result to be a very good one," Urban added.

Minister Urban also informed reporters that in the whole of Poland 12 people were detained for breaking the peace during the referendum, adding that this was evidence of considerable calm.

Politburo Report to Sixth CC Plenum Published

AU240501 Warsaw TRYBUNA LUDU in Polish 18 Nov 87 Supplement

[Report by the PZPR Politburo to the Sixth PZPR Central Committee Plenum: "Enhancing Socialist Renewal is a Condition For Poland's Faster Development"]

[Text] 1. Socialist Renewal—A Historic Necessity and a Great Chance [chapter head]

We are entering a new stage of socialist renewal. The achievements and experience gained so far permit further radical and consistent activity. Polish problems cannot be solved effectively by means of small steps and half-measures. The conditions for a fundamental acceleration of transformations are ripe. Continuing at the present level of transformations might threaten us with stagnation and even regression.

Drawing the above conclusions conforms to our party's ideology and practically tested initiatives, for the party is the promoter of the economic reform, national accord, and development of democracy and self-management. We are basing these processes on the unshakeable foundations of the socialist achievements in Poland, on everything that has proved successful during Poland's development. At the same time, we have subjected errors, misfortunes, and departures from socialist principles to severe criticism. We have drawn lasting conclusions from these assessments.

These conclusions form the basis of the line laid down at the Ninth PZPR Congress and expounded at the 10th Congress. Our "Program" says: "This line is permanent; it stems from the essence of socialist renewal; it not only expresses a concern for the correction of mistakes, but most of all illustrates a process of constantly adapting our socialist system to changing social conditions."

Achievements and Weaknesses [subhead]

We began implementing this line during a dramatic time of economic collapse, drastic loss of confidence in the authorities, sharp political struggle, imperialist restrictions, and attempts to isolate Poland internationally. We also had to overcome conservative and opportunistic tendencies to slow down and even dispense with the reforms.

Nevertheless, we did not leave our chosen path. We confirmed it at the beginning of martial law, at the memorable Seventh Central Committee Plenum. We proved that this path was not a temporary tactic or circumstantial choice for the party, but a historic necessity and strategic prospect for socialist Poland, a condition necessary for the implementation and maximum use of the fundamental principles and values of our system.

The greatest political and economic dangers were dispelled, and an awareness cemented whereby reforms, valuable experience, and sophisticated changes to the economy and to the mechanism of exercising authority are essential to Poland. There is no doubt that the present acceleration of the reform would not have been possible without the achievements of renewal so far.

The work of millions of Poles is heaving the economy out of the deep abyss. Despite the exceptionally difficult internal and external conditions, the national income has been rising for 5 years and the pre-crisis level of industrial output has been surpassed. All sectors of agriculture are achieving good results like never before. Productivity has increased. The first stage of the economic reform has played a major role in these processes. The general correctness of its principles is confirmed by the long list of enterprises that are capable even today of functioning well, adapting themselves to the rigors of efficient management, and heading toward modernization. One can give the following examples of such enterprises: the "Teofilow" textile-hosiery plant in Lodz, Jelcz automobile factory, "Vis" tool industrty combine, "Mera-Kfap" measuring apparatus plant in Krakow, "Zalom" cable plant in Szczecin, bearing manufacturing plant in Krasnik,, Kielce paper plant, Swarzedzie furniture plant, and many, many others.

The extent of the changes in recent years toward democratization and the rule of law is unequalled in the history of People's Poland. The numerous new and often pioneering institutional-legal developments are creating a broad horizon of openness, people's rule, and self-management.

The strengthening realism of social attitudes is encouraging an expansion of national accord, for the sake of which the party and its allies are ceaselessly active.

These are only some of the undeniable facts showing that the avid disenchantment, biased assessments, and panicking of the past were all in vain. But at the same time minimization, indolence, self-calm, and a shirking of responsibility must be qualities that are alien to us.

It is almost 1 and 1/2 years since the 10th Party Congress. A considerable amount has been done since then. Nevertheless, more could have been done. The speed and extent to which the Congress decisions have been implemented are no cause for satisfaction. There is a lack of consistency and efficiency in many spheres. Insufficient boldness and determination and bureaucratic and conservative barriers, coupled with indifference on the part of some people, have delayed the implementation of new solutions. The reformed structures and mechanisms of social life and the economy often exist side by side with old, no longer effective ones. A slowness and inconsistency of change is reducing the effectiveness of these reformed mechanisms and causing impatience and dissatisfaction. The positive trends of the first post-crisis years have begun to weaken.

At the previous Fifth Central Committee Plenum, we said that despite the undoubtable progress in production, the prospects of financial-market equilibrium were no nearer and that no fundamental improvement to the quality of goods and services had been made. Housing construction has not been dragged out of its state of collapse. The structural alterations necessary to adapt our production to social needs, the requirements of modernity, and international competition are at stage of a low development. Organizational changes to production are too slow. There is insufficient work incentive, and the economic mechanisms meant to promote efficiency are themselves only half-effective. The expectations placed in the second stage of the reform have been accompanied by strong criticism of economic practice and the methods used to overcome the difficulties.

The need to proceed deeper and further also determines the need for the present scope of changes in the spheres of democracy and the rule of law. The political transformations will become a firm feature of renewal when society identifies itself more with the representative bodies elected by it; when the workers class and working people become convinced that their interests are being effectively represented every day by the people's councils, self-management bodies, and trade unions; when society becomes generally aware that it has real influence over the work of bodies of authority and the state administration; and when the status of civic activity reaches a new height and is accompanied by a rise in the authority of the law, greater social discipline, and a greater readiness to perform duties.

The Need To Accelerate Changes [subhead]

The new stage of renewal has become an economic, political, and psychosocial necessity. It is essential to mobilize more fully the reserves still inherent in development and in the rich and still insufficiently used potential of human energy, knowledge, and initiative. It is necessary to increase the possibilities of the whole of society's participation in economic, social, and cultural progress. The new prospects facing socialism present a chance for our system to be fair and democratic as well as highly efficient and well organized.

The main effort is to radicalize the economic reform and make sure that the economic mechanisms act not just with half-strength, but with full strength. We firmly spoke out in favor of this at the Fifth Central Committee Plenum. We also expressed our conviction that a profound restructuring of economic life requires further democratic transformations in the political and social spheres.

The scale of the changes we are facing requires that society accept them as a program of its own. It is with this thought in mind that we came out in favor of a national referendum.

Whatever is proving its worth in the economy and state and serves well the social objectives of socialism should be preserved and consolidated, and whatever is proving unsuccessful should be changed or replaced with new solutions. That is the choice to be made by society on 29 November. Society will determine the speed of the renewal, the country's development prospects, and the possibilities of improving living conditions.

Of course, profound transformations involve an element of risk, and also a certain amount of cost. But if we fail to decide on far-reaching economic and state reforms today, we will have to pay considerably more for them tomorrow.

Rejecting Voluntarism and Doctrinairism [subhead]

The new prospects require new thinking. The transformations we are commencing require a creative application of Marxism-Leninism and a combination of its principles with the verification of many previous ideas about the methods of attaining socialist objectives and about the propulsive forces of social development. On more than one occasion, we have paid a high price for stubbornly clinging to traditional forms and resources of action and for not having the courage to continue the transformations we had started when society's development required them.

The experience of People's Poland has shown that the processes of socialist development cannot be confined within stiff, arbitrary schemes in a corset of outdated theses and solutions, and that they cannot be separated from the laws of the previous form of political authority, especially from its difficult heritage. The new society is "emerging" from the old as part of a long historical process, in which the preconditions for our own form of development of socialism are gradually being shaped. When steering this process we must combine principle-mindedness with realism and reject voluntarism and doctrinairism, prevent what is a future target from being regarded as a current principle, recognize new problems in good time, and solve new tasks. Therefore, the strategy of renewal combines an observance of the permanent principles and values of socialism with bold answers to modern conditions and needs. It is an expression of the application of Marxist dialectics under Polish conditions. It is designed to use and confirm all the values of our system in social practice.

To create an attractive countenance for socialism that matches man's aspirations—that is a revolutionary task. It requires as much ardor as imagination, as much boldness as faith in principles.

Poland's Road to Socialism [subhead]

Our reforms are an integral, though in many respects an original, part of the programmatic, political, and economic changes that are currently taking place in many fraternal parties and states in the entire expanse of socialism. Answering the call of modern times, socialism is entering a new development stage today. The ideas of restructuring and acceleration were successfully expressed in the program of the 27th CPSU Congress and have been fully confirmed during the important and ideologically and intellectually creative celebrations of the 70th anniversary of the October Revolution. These ideas express the objective correctness of the present phase of our political formation. They are expanding its horizons, providing it with a new driving force, and increasing its social attraction.

Socialism has set itself great goals; they are often too great to be fully achieved even during the course of several generations. We have not been immune to voluntarism, the charm of great leaps, and the temptation of shortcuts. Today we are wiser as a result of difficult

experience. This experience has taught us that the reality we require cannot be achieved overnight following a decree, that its formation is a difficult process, and that misfortune is often to be found on the road to progress. But the basic objectives of socialism retain their fundamental value. They remain ideals, lanterns that light the difficult road to be taken. The present transformations in Poland stem from our own achievements and searches, refer to our own national heritage, and meet halfway the justified needs and aspirations of society. Applying the general principles and truths of socialist construction, we are creating our own, Polish model of social, economic, and political life. The more socialism there is in Poland, the stronger, fairer, and more sovereign Poland is. The more socialism is applied to Polish conditions and the more it expresses the will and aims of our society, the fuller and richer it is.

The fact that the transformations undertaken by the PZPR coincide with the Soviet restructuring and the objectives toward which many other communist and workers' parties are aiming adds strength to the strategy of the socialist reforms and strengthens one's conviction about their success. We are in favor of accelerating the processes of socialist economic integration, consolidating the united front of struggle for the world's peaceful future, and closer cooperation between our parties in solving modern problems and challenges. 2. The Socialist State—Continuity and Reconstruction [chapter head]

We said at the ninth congress and reaffirmed at the 10th that the development of democracy and national accord must form the basis for socialist renewal. The outline of the party's stance in these issues was formulated at the 17th plenum and in many other official party and state decrees. Practice confirms the sincerity and fruitfulness of this line. However, we implemented it at a time of severe economic danger and continuing political struggle. This naturally made it more difficult for democratic institutions and mechanisms to function. The present situation permits and requires an analysis of the ways of exercising authority, so that whatever restricts social energy can be eliminated and whatever liberates this energy, enriches social ties, expands the scope of political liberties, and encourages a feeling of conscious discipline can be kept and consolidated. We must concentrate more on the cohesion of civic rights and duties.

Not Omnipotence, But Effectiveness in Solving the Chief Tasks [subhead]

The political and socioeconomic changes form one undivisible whole. The roots of democracy would not reach far into the ground without profound economic transformations. In turn, economic transformations require support in the form of a healthy, strong, and democratic organism of socialists' statehood.

Our state is the broadest form of society, a form of ties between all citizens, the political expression of the alliance between the workers class, peasants, and intelligentsia. At the same time, it is a system of bodies of authority, administration, law, and control.

In line with new conditions and needs, we must consolidate our state and raise its prestige, revising at the same time people's thoughts about the role and method of functioning of the authorities. The importance of their basic functioning, which determines the development of the economy and culture and the country's role and world position, is not decreasing, but rising. But in order to perform these functions effectively, it is necessary to rationalize—in fact, restrict—the scope of the tasks performed directly by the state authorities.

Experience has shown that the state's strength and efficiency do not derive from its omnipotence. If its bodies try to define and control everything in detail, this actually weakens the state's strategic role. At the same time, it restricts human energy and enterprise and encourages a division into those who "govern" and those who "are governed."

The socialist state's centralism must be more fully democratic and free of everything which restricts people's rule and self-management, weakens a feeling of responsibility, and gives rise to a lack of confidence in useful initiatives put forth by the rank-and-file. Phenomena like these are against the principles of socialism and distort social relations. Today it is becoming necessary to eliminate the excess of legal restrictions and administrative procedures that narrow down the field of political, social, and economic energy by the citizens. Today the chief way of really consolidating the socialist state is to encourage social energy.

The New Role of the Center [subhead]

One month ago the Sejm approved a program of simplified structures and altered functions of supreme and central bodies of state administration. These are profound, far-reaching changes. They will not only bring about a fall in the number of ministries and a reduction in the apparatus of administration, but also cause qualitative changes. In the new arrangement, central offices freed of the burden of direct administration will concentrate on basic issues of state policy instead.

This is also an effective way of combating bureaucratism. Bureaucratism does not derive from socialism. It derives mainly from specific forms and conditions of organization. The problem does not lie in bad officials or unscrupulous citizens. The pressure of public opinion, educational activity, and increasing the qualifications of employees of the state apparatus possess major, but not decisive importance. Bureaucratism has to be eliminated at the roots. In practice, it is nourished by the excessive centralization of decisionmaking, the overgrown structures and tasks of the administration, and a desire to interfere in all spheres of life. This is the main reason why administrative procedures are sluggish, executive bodies have outgrown representative bodies of authority and self-management, and personal responsibility has become vague and weak.

Higher Status For Self-Government [subhead]

The development of socialist self-government forms the mainstream of democratization. Democratization should develop a richness of forms—in the form of representative bodies, self-government by workers and citizens, trade unions, youth associations, cooperatives, and control bodies, especially worker-peasant inspectorates. Its success depends on combining, on the one hand, the activity of the rank and file and the aims and postulates of self-governing circles with, on the other hand, a respect for general social and state interests, social discipline, and efficient practical activity.

Self-government must be authentic and effectively protected against bureaucratic attempts to control it by the administration. But at the same time it cannot provide a screen for cliquism, a higher preference for group interests than for national ones, and opposition to or competition against the state. On the contrary, it must become a factor that consolidates the state and influences the efficacy of its actions. Self-government and state administrative bodies must constitute an arrangement that supports and complements itself, and even corrects itself if need be. In a nutshell, the point is to infuse the idea of socialism with the practice of self-government, and infuse the practice of self-government with the goals and values of socialism.

People's Councils at all levels form the backbone of social self-government. In accordance with the intention clearly expressed at the 10th Congress, we are aiming to expand their powers considerably. The nature of the second stage of the economic reform and of its tasks also require this. An increase in these councils' independence should encourage social initiative and increase the functions, especially economic functions, of local authorities so that local resources may be put to better use and the needs of local inhabitants better satisfied.

The expansion of the powers of the people's councils could be carried out in two stages. In the first stage, one should increase the potential of local economies by transferring to the control of people's councils some of the enterprises previously supervised by ministers. The profits of these enterprises would also increase local budgets. At the same time, more favorable conditions would arise for the creation of new enterprises, especially in small-scale production and services.

The increased financial independence of people's councils would be backed by stable rules governing their budgets and by long-term subsidies. Stiff budgetary rules should be abandoned, so that, for example, the spending of local resources may be adjusted in line with local needs.

During the second stage of the reform it will be necessary to create a legal framework for communal ownership. This form of ownership could apply to various local work places and institutions. Of course, it would be wrong to transfer to communal ownership only those institutions that need to be subsidized, because subsidized institutions, naturally enough, cannot make a profit (schools, health centers, and so on). The need emerges to give the people's councils a legal personality, which would be a guarantee of their economic accountability and would widen the scope for economic initiatives by local communities. At the same time, the changes to the economic powers of people's councils should involve a consolidation of their supervisory position vis-a-vis local administrations and a consolidation of the ties between representative bodies and the electorate. We believe that people's councillors of all levels should possess the same immunity as Sejm deputies. It is useful to standardize the methods of selecting personnel to fill voivodship and primary level state administrative posts, in this case voivodas, mayors, and chief executives, by having them elected by the people's councils and then confirmed by the appropriate supervisory body. It is also necessary to increase the councils' influence over the activity of all local forms of social self-government.

The increased powers of people's councils should be accompanied by alterations to the legal rules that have deprived representative bodies of some of their previous legal powers. This applies to some laws and executive rules, for example the ones that define the precise way in which rural funds should be used.

The party attaches great importance to a further democratization of the electoral system. We believe that changes to the election rules for people's councils should be introduced before the next people's council elections. These changes should increase citizens' influence over all phases of the election process. We also think that preelection meetings should have the right to put forward candidates for people's councillors. All candidates should have an equal chance of being elected. Therefore, one should abandon the current preference for candidates whose names are first on the ballot sheet.

The conditions are ripe for a fundamental expansion of the powers of primary-level people's councils. Cities and rural districts should receive complete independence, and their people's councils should be transformed into energetic bodies of local self-government that combine the functions of a local authority body with tasks of a national nature. We believe one could also consult the people's councils, among others, about the suggestion to give primary-level councils and their executive committees the nature of a full self-governing body. It has also been suggested that the chief executives of cities and rural areas be directly chosen by the electorate.

We believe that if local socioeconomic considerations justify it and local inhabitants approve, then the boundaries of primary-level administrative bodies could be adjusted so that administrative units may emerge with a

greater socioeconomic or cadre strength, better developed infrastructure, and a greater capability of independent development. It should also be made possible to combine the resources of neighboring cities and rural districts in the form of unions of two or more communities, which would boost the economic development of local communities and increase their ability to satisfy, on their own, the needs of inhabitants.

We are in favor of consolidating the present two-tier structure of administrative divisions in the country. The size of special regional divisions should be kept to the essential minimum and should correspond as closely as possible to existing voivodship, city, and rural district boundaries. People's councils should receive powers that will give them greater influence over the work of regional institutions that provide services for people within a given administrative unit.

Efficient social management in the rural districts and small towns of People's Poland possesses a rich tradition, as confirmed by the national "Master of Efficient Management" awards given to many communities. For example, rural districts like Krzemieniewo and Krobia in the Leszno Voivodship and Zukowo in Gdansk Voivodship and cities like Lancut and Hajnowka have shown the valuable results that can be achieved when initiatives and work input are combined with an efficient functioning of the local authorities. The last "Master of Efficient Management" contest was won by the rural district of Krzemieniewo. Even though it mainly has class 5 and 6 soil, agricultural output is very high. The communal services are functioning well. A communal sewage disposal plant is being built and the water and gas networks expanded. This rural district is a model of order and cleanliness. The network of kindergartens is so well developed that all children can use it. These successes were not brought about by a directive from above; they are an expression of and the result of efficient management. They show the great opportunities inherent in giving broader powers to cities and rural districts.

A Field for Civic Initiative [subhead]

Democratization and the expansion of self-government is a multifaceted process that is also being implemented by means of various civic initiatives stemming from local needs and from human interests and ambitions. In the past, some bodies of authority and even party cells have been indifferent toward initiatives from bodies lower down the ladder. Sometimes they even displayed reserve and distrust. Such an attitude has to be changed.

Constructive signs of authentic social initiative consolidate people's rule, encourage the formation of socialist political culture, and develop local patriotism and one's feeling of belonging. They should encourage a union of forces between citizens and state bodies, especially in such important spheres as local socioeconomic progress, environmental protection, development of education and culture, cultivation of regional traditions, and so on. This will permit a real increase in young people's energy, for young people are often distrustful of traditional forms of organized activity and are attracted by spontaneous and unconventional methods.

Poland is a country that is rich in social organizations—there are almost 70,000 of them. Over 400 have nationwide coverage. Many possess major achievements and great social prestige, and perform particularly useful tasks. Nevertheless, the structure and function of many existing associations has fallen behind the times and does not suit new needs. This is illustrated by the popularity and rapid growth of social movements lately, such as in environmental protection, the protection of consumer rights, and the combating of drug addiction. There should be no obstacles to the formation of various associations, as long as their goals conform to the Constitution and do not violate the legal order. If a new association meets real social needs halfway, it will find a permanent place for itself. If not, life itself will subject it to the process of natural selection.

It is necessary to complete work on the new law on associations as quickly as possible. The present law is 55 years old, and even though it has been amended several times, it still does not suit current conditions and needs. The law should simplify the procedure involved in setting up associations, and should restrict administrative interference in the setting up of associations to a control of the association's objectives, and restrict control over the work of associations to an assessment of how they observe the law and their own statutes. Refusal to register an association or decisions to suspend or dissolve them ought to be appealable to the courts. In accordance with the view expressed at the 10th congress, the new law on associations should make it easier to transfer to social organizations some of the powers of the state apparatus and should specify the ways of doing so.

The Development of Civil Rights and Liberties [subhead]

We are determined to expand civil rights. The rich achievements of People's Poland in creating the material conditions and legal guarantees for the right to work, recreation, education, health care, cultural participation, and so on permit a feeling of social security and confidence in tomorrow and the realization that no one will be left to his own fate, that human dignity is respected, and that there is a broad system of social help whenever it is required. In this respect we are on the same level as considerably richer societies. Protecting and consolidating these values is our party's ideological goal and political and social duty. Nevertheless, we are not treating human rights and their implementation as something that has been regulated once and for all. The humanitarian goals of a socialist system require an increasingly better satisfaction of growing needs, which include a feeling of real social justice and political democracy and a sense of civic belonging. We are faced with the task of providing a fuller definition of constitutional economic,

social, cultural, and educational rights, and at the same time expanding the plane of political liberties such as the freedom of speech and freedom to associate and choose one's representatives. We want to create conditions for an increasingly fuller implementation of these rights.

Of course, one must not ignore the attempts to use expanding democratic rights for antipolitical purposes. While firmly opposing this and waging a struggle against the opponents of socialism mainly by political means, we must prevent a fear of abusing these rights and liberties from hampering their expansion.

We consider the Union of Polish Lawyers' idea of a social human rights committee, composed of persons enjoying a high degree of social and professional prestige, to be interesting and useful. This committee could initiate a more concrete definition of the rights and liberties of PPR citizens and inspire investigations into the performance of constitutional powers and into the relation between these and the performance of civic duties. The committee could have a major influence over society's education on the subject of the rights and duties of citizens. The committee ought to represent Polish public opinion on an international level, in order to teach the world about Poland's experience. It would strengthen the social foundations of the office of spokesman for civic affairs, and would harmonize with his legal role.

Openness and Rule of Law—The Pillars of a Socialist Political Culture [subhead]

The principle of openness that has been laid down in recent years encourages guarantees of civic rights. There will be no turning back from openness; we will firmly oppose any attempts to restrict it. This applies to opposition on the part of state authorities, as well as some party circles' resistance to criticism in the press, radio, and television and to bold, sharp discussion. It sometimes happens that, instead of acting energetically to improve the situation or polemicize with unjustified criticism, some people would prefer to silence matters by administrative means or play them down.

We believe that the law on controlling publications and performances, prepared in 1981 by means of broad consultations, is a good guarantee for the freedom of speech. The point is to oppose violations of this law either by a wrong application of its provisions, or by a lack of responsibility for one's own words.

As instruments of socialist democracy, the press, radio, and television are not only organs that express the view of the authorities, but must also be mouthpieces of varied public opinion and criticism. We are in favor of the dynamic variant of openness, in favor of ridding information policy of the vestiges of schematization, pattern-molding, and protocol. We expect journalists to be honest and to display a keen interest in the problems on which they report and a concern for the social effects of their articles.

The rule of law is the cornerstone of the state order and of civic liberties. In recent years we have done much to strengthen guarantees for the rule of law. This is illustrated by the work of the Constitutional Tribunal, Supreme Administrative Court, and other bodies and institutions, as well as by the creation of the legal basis for the office of spokesman for civic affairs. But is the PPR citizen really convinced that the law affords him adequate protection and treats him on an equal footing with others? The complaints flowing into the PZPR Central Committee and voivodship committees, central and local state institutions, PRON, OPZZ, newspapers, and so on indicate that he is not.

People are still treated unequally in the eyes of the law, unjustified preferences are applied, rules are interpreted to the disadvantage of the citizen, people are wronged, and some are even penalized by an avalanche of administrative procedures. A network of cliquish arrangements often overrules the law's intentions and the intentions of the bodies guarding it. Sometimes, employees of the law themselves break the law. These pathological cases cancel out the work of bodies belonging to the socialist state apparatus.

On the other hand, some citizens have no respect for order and discipline, and either break or circumvent the law.

The leaderships of bodies of authority at all levels are still not counteracting these phenomena effectively enough. Public reaction is also too weak. It is necessary to propagate knowledge of the law, extend the front of social condemnation of and struggle against violations of the law, and cultivate respect for the rules of social life with much greater determination.

The party, which regards it as one of its duties to guard a general observance of the law with no restrictions and exceptions, will step up the struggle against soulless bureaucratism, lawlessness, and violations of the rule of law and social discipline. For this purpose, it is essential to expand the scope of openness, animate the mass media, and increase social control. The first condition of success is ceaseless control by party members over the observance of the rule of law.

In order to accelerate the process of strengthening the rule of law, we are in favor of:

—Passing a law governing the principles of formulating law in general; this would halt the growth of legal instruments, prevent discrepancies within them, and consolidate the supremacy that the law and resolutions by representative bodies have over executive rules;

—Increasing court control over administrative decisions by reducing the number of cases that have to be dealt with under special procedures;

—Eliminating arbitration as a method of settling disputes between economic units, and providing powers of arbitration to the general courts or a separate system of courts under the authority of the Supreme Court;

—Accelerating the work that has already started on a reform to the penal code, which will give a modern definition of the rights and duties of citizens in a socialist state, and reconsidering whether there is any purpose in retaining the death sentence.

Toward an Enhancement of National Accord Under Socialist Pluralism [subhead]

The socialist political system in Poland is accompanied by great differences among society. These in turn are the result of economic factors and consequent differences in the situation and interests of various classes, strata, professional groups, and local communities. They also stem from a historical difference in ideological and political orientation, world outlook, culture, customs, and traditions that is often independent of class and strata divisions. All these differences have been cemented by the sharp political struggle at the beginning of the eighties and by shocks and doubts caused by the crisis upheaval.

Ignoring these differences and pretending there is unanimity when in fact there is none leads to tension and conflicts in social life.

At the 10th congress, we lent firm expression to our party's conviction whereby given the existing differences in Poland, one should apply a common denominator of accord to those matters that are of the greatest importance for the development of the fatherland and success of the people. This is not only possible, but essential. We said in our "Program" that the PZPR is open to accord "with everyone who accepts the constitutional principles of our state and serves Poland's development by means of his work. We are joined by a concern for the country's economic development, work ethics, social justice, an expansion of democracy, the struggle for peace, security, sovereignty, Poland's strong position on the international arena, a respect for human dignity, tolerance, and the nation's moral and physical health."

The essence of Polish socialist pluralism is respect for the incentives that stem from various views and forms of world outlook, and aim to reveal and coordinate various interests and place them on a common platform of dialogue. These various interests are thus transformed into a propulsive force of development and accord for the sake of the people and socialist fatherland. The undeniable borders of pluralism are provided by the PPR's raison d'etat and constitutional political order.

Pluralism in leading the socialist state is expressed by means of the coalition-type method of exercising authority. This is based on the joint activity and joint responsibility of the signatories of the PRON declaration and on a mutual respect for these signatories' programmatic identity and organizational independence. We underline the valuable contribution of our coalition partners to the shaping of a concept for solving the problems of the state and people.

The party reaffirms its desire to consolidate its allied bonds consistently. Recognition of the role and respect for the stance of the ZSL and SD, the political culture of mutual relations, partnerlike loyalty and sense of responsibility—these are factors which have given our cooperation a new and higher quality in recent years. We also encourage an increase in the sociopolitical role of associations of Christians and lay Catholics.

We are in favor of expanding various forms of expressing and defending divergent interests, views, and opinions. This is encouraged by the system, currently being expanded, of representative institutions, territorial self-governments and workers' self-managements, trade unions, youth and women's associations, and other social organizations.

However, such respect for differences cannot be identified with a "free contest" of political forces—in other words with an attack on the supreme interests of the state, anarchy, and a struggle for power from an antipolitical position.

We unchangingly hold the view that in a system of socialist pluralism, the main role should be played by workers' interests and opinions. Listening to the voice of the work forces, we pay particular attention to the views of leading, highly qualified, and highly conscious workers' cadres. The same applies to farmers and the intelligentsia. The class contents of the 16th Central Committee Plenum are fully binding to our party. But we are also aware of the differences that also appear within the workers class, in other words we are aware of the consequent need to come to agreement with the workers class on the subject of its interests and aims. The party considers an independent and self-governing trade union movement in a qualitatively new and authentic shape as the best platform for effectively representing the professional and social interests of the workers class. This movement was born out of the experience of recent times, which showed the damage that a breakup of trade unions can cause working people, the national economy, and the socialist state.

As a PRON signatory, the party believes that by preserving and strengthening its present functions, PRON can become a more energetic ally of territorial self-management and of social organizations. It can become a forum for exchanging and enriching their experience, and can play the role of social mediator in the disputes that appear in this sphere of democracy. We are counting on

PRON's energetic participation in the discussions on the subject of the new law on associations, on new powers for the people's councils, and on new ways of holding elections to these councils and the PPR Sejm. We welcome the PRON draft concept concerning its own powers and forms of action in cadres policy, especially the proposal to put forward nonparty candidates for responsible public posts. The institutional form that pluralism should take in Poland is a complicated issue and one that is new in many respects. This issue calls for discussion, extensive effort, and the accumulation of experience. We are ready to engage in a search of this kind, and therefore we are inclined to consider every constructive project in this area. We realize that many people whose attitude toward the construction of socialism is critical and suspicious and who are opposed to concrete solutions and forms of activity are motivated by patriotic feelings. By engaging them in debate when this is necessary—a polemical debate—we should find a way of accommodating these forces and groups in our social and political system, so that their civic concern and energy contributes to solving important national problems.

Positive experience in this area is being supplied by the work of the Consultative Council headed by the chairman of the State Council; the work begun by the civic committees headed by chairmen of voivodship people's councils; the results produced by the advisory teams and bodies attached to the Sejm and to the government, which operate on an extensive and representative basis; and the examples of establishing dialogue with representatives of the interests of parties and groups that are seeking a way out of the vicious circle of total rejection and the declaration of boycotts. These new phenomena are enriching the practice of pluralism and are creating the kind of diverse public life, reflecting many points of view, that we need.

We do not want to stop at the solutions that have been introduced thus far. This is because there is still a great deal of scope for expanding the composition of various sociopolitical and advisory bodies to take in citizens who—irrespective of their political or ideological orientation—are capable of making a constructive contribution to resolving the complicated problems that our country faces. We are acquiring more partners and will continue to do so. We are prepared to meet them halfway in the belief that our party and state is right and, at the same time, in the belief that our fatherland needs everyone who possesses goodwill and a creative mind.

National accord calls for the overcoming of the legacy of conflicts that ensued from the dramatic events at the beginning of the 1980's. There are still significant layers of mistrust and reluctance, and the effects of the divisions stemming from tension, prejudice, and that profound crisis can still be felt. They have to be eliminated in a consistent manner, because they harm the national good. Much has already been achieved on the road to unity. The consistent application of the principle that "it is not important where someone comes from, but what is important is what he is doing today, and what he intends to do in the future" has made it possible for millions of former "Solidarity" members and many former union activists to become involved in public life.

For the most honorable of reasons, millions of Poles became involved in the social protest movement that emerged so forcefully during the summer of 1980. They were guided by the belief "socialism yes, distortions no." However, it is not possible to reduce "Solidarity" to a common denominator. At the 21st Central Committee Plenum we stressed that the movement had brought together millions of people who hoped that it would cleanse life of degenerate elements and would produce the changes that Poland needed. But this great potential for socialist renewal was accompanied by the potential for antisocialist destruction, and over the course of time the latter gained an increasing influence.

This second current became the predominant one in "Solidarity's" leading bodies and its apparatus. But this was not and could not be the course sought by the majority of those who belonged to the movement. Many left the movement. Others ceased being active, refused to become involved in actions that were destroying the country, and displayed increasing distrust toward the actions of the movement's extremists. At this point it is worth recalling that, even before the eighth congress, members of our party were critical of the policy being pursued by the party's leadership at that time and had called for change. At the Ninth Extraordinary Congress the party made a resolute break with the distortions and mistakes of the past, proclaimed a program of socialist renewal and declared itself to be in favor of accord based on its program. But the most dramatic event for Poland at the time was that antisocialist political gamblers were stubbornly pushing the course of events in a destructive direction. It was necessary to resort to extraordinary means to stamp out the danger of economic ruin, the disintegration of the state, and the fratricidal conflict that had been engendered in this way.

We understand the shock that was produced by the introduction of martial law and the emotional reasons for various forms of behavior that indicated consternation. We realize that the memory of the many disappointments of the past gives rise to distrust and fear. But today, with so much evidence that renewal is being pursued consistently, that there is self-criticism in the assessment of negative experiences, and a readiness to introduce further far-reaching changes, we have a moral right to expect people to display understanding for the goals of our party's work and the reasons behind it. We repeat: We resorted to extraordinary measures in order to stop the course of events from continuing in a dangerous direction. But we also did so in order to create conditions for the implementation of political and economic reforms that are in keeping with the spirit of the August agreements and the aspirations of millions of former members of "Solidarity." Today we are taking a

further step along this road. Everybody who is aware of the absolute necessity of reform can and should take part in the process of devising and implementing reforms. Our party is composed of people who did not yield in what was a bitter struggle, did not give up in the face of difficulties, and survived a very difficult test. However, let us not bear a grudge toward those former PZPR members who became involved in the process of renewal in an honest way and out of deep conviction, and then, motivated by distrust and bitterness, left our ranks having failed to understand that martial law was not a move toward rebuilding the old order but toward creating the basic conditions that were necessary for the introduction of change. The Polish reforms need the active involvement and work of such people. They should reconsider their decision. There is no prejudice against those who have remained loyal to the idea of socialism and wish to return to our ranks. Political and statutory conditions to permit this exist.

We, for our part, also believe that there are no obstacles to frank and far-reaching talks with those former "Solidarity" activists who appreciate the importance of socialist reforms and have not trapped themselves in a circle of destructive refusal. Despite differences, there can never be too much dialogue about what we can do jointly to bring closer the prospect of a better tomorrow for Poland. Although the past has drawn many people apart, the future should bring them together. This has happened on many occasions in both the recent and more distant history of our people.

In Defense of National Interests [subhead]

By being resolutely in favor of a strategy of national accord, the party is not forgetting about those various people, groups, and circles who are continuing or embarking on an antisocialist course. Progress in the process of normalization, greater realism in social attitudes, and our initiatives and activities are limiting the scope of their influence. However, although they are changing their tone, trying to publicize their intentions in a roundabout way, they are still guided by the very same aims: inculcating distrust of everything that draws its inspiration from socialism, shattering hopes, and undermining the desire to be active, so as to prove that "they" will not succeed. They respond to the offer of far-reaching change with fruitless negation, calls for a boycott, and opposition. Regardless of the subjective reasons for the behavior of the people who support these slogans, viewed objectively, they are putting obstacles in the way of reform and are harming the cause of accord.

Antisocialist opposition forces have trapped themselves in the ritual demagogy of rejection. Concealed behind this is political inspiration and material support from outside, as well as the lack of a constructive program and the absence of civic good sense and responsibility. At least one telling example of this is the decision to resort to the guise of pacifism and the efforts that are being made to exploit the peaceful intentions of the younger generation in order to harm the patriotic tradition of military service in defense of the borders of the fatherland.

No agreement can be reached with people and tendencies of this kind, because they are acting against the nation's vital interests through their own choice.

Antisocialist slogans and actions are not a transitory or exceptional phenomenon. They are a consequence of class divisions and the political battle that is taking place in today's world. Thus, we can expect them to be present in various forms for some time to come. This makes it imperative to wage a constant ideological and political battle against anti-institutional currents and what are in effect destructive tendencies, and to limit the scope of activity and influence of the representative of these currents primarily by way of the social attraction and effectiveness of our strategy and the consistent implementation of the line of reform and agreement.

Nowadays, agreement is being facilitated by the process of intensifying research and assessments concerning our history, eliminating blank spots, and removing ambiguities, distortions, and simplifications. Their existence has been harming socialist political culture. Moreover, it made it possible for people to distort the historical picture in the name of "removing falsehood" by way of employing chauvinistic or reactionary criteria in assessing the history of our nation.

Two important patriotic anniversaries are about to take place: the 70th anniversary of the regaining of independence and the 50th anniversary of the Nazi invasion of Poland and the outbreak of World War II. The full truth about the difficult and complicated history of our nation, its successes and failures, the sources of its strength and the causes of its weakness teaches us to serve the cause of freedom and progress, and advocates a socialist future for our fatherland.

Various World Views, One Poland [subhead]

In dealing with issues pertaining to world views, we are guided by principles stemming from the humanistic goals of socialism and the unity of the basic interests of the world of labor. These principles are expressed in the Constitution. They were extensively explained in the 10th congress resolution, the party "program," and other party documents.

We consider the main goal of our policy toward religion to be the creation of conditions for harmonious cooperation between believers and nonbelievers for the good of the fatherland. The Polish state is a secular state, but not an antireligious one. The freedom to satisfy religious needs is an inviolable civil right. In being a common home and representing the national good, our state serves everybody, irrespective of ideological differences.

In accordance with the party line concerning relations with the Roman Catholic Church and other churches and religious denominations, many positive processes have been taking place, especially recently. We will continue to be guided in a consistent fashion by the principle of the permanent nature of coexistence between the church and the socialist state, the intention of cooperating in the resolution of national problems, and dialogue and polemical debate on the ideological and philosophical level.

The unity of dialogue and polemical debate envisages the comparison of interests under conditions of mutual respect and tolerance. Thus, the success of mutual relations depends on mutual respect: respect for the religious mission of the church and for the socialist character of the state and the Polish raison d'etat. This cannot be reconciled with antisocialist activity and political clericalism.

There are very extensive opportunities for working together to serve Poland and its citizens. There are many similarities between the church's moral injunctions and norms, and aspects of its contemporary thinking and activity on the one hand, and socialism's social goals on the other. However, the idea of a great historical experiment in the form of creative dialogue and positive cooperation between the socialist states and the Roman Catholic Church has not, thus far, gone far enough to match real possibilities and needs. A key matter in this respect ought to be closer cooperation in solving real problems on the basis of humanist moral principles and essential, patriotic, and social values in the name of the highest national good.

There is still a great deal of wrongdoing in Poland, and national interests are frequently harmed by neglect of work, lack of respect for common property, and low civic discipline. There is no doubt that this also has concrete implications for the church. With this in mind, we propose that the Joint Commission of Representatives of the Church and the Government carry out a fundamental expansion of the form and content of cooperation between state and church officials in areas such as the propagation of labor ethics, the cultivation of civic and ethical attitudes, social assistance, and the preservation of culture, health, and the natural environment.

We will expand theoretical searches and ideological discussions that elicit and enhance the humanist merits of Marxism and its aim of effecting the full development of man and the creative potential of the individual and society. This is because the goal of socialism is the constant improvement of the material conditions for human life, as well as social justice, equal rights and opportunities, opportunities for self-realization, that is, the intellectual and cultural development of man and the fulfillment of man's aspirations, so that man can know more and be more active. This goal combines the interests and aspirations of the individual and society dialectically. We should highlight this dialectic of the subjectivity of the individual and the social character of human activity.

Socialism means liberating the workers class and working people and stimulating them to activity. However, this has nothing in common with the idea of a simplified and vulgarized collectivism that is divorced from the problems and needs of the individual. Marxist theory, which has developed from aspirations into a way of solving basic questions concerning existence, society, and man, provides the prerequisites for profound answers concerning human destiny. It views man as a social element and a unique individual. We face the task of having to develop and disseminate socialist personalism understood in this way, this element of our philosophy that contains a humanist vision of a good life, a concept of activism, an ethos of moral sensitivity, tolerance, honesty, and a work ethic—everything that creates the apogee of human dignity through genuine bonds with other people in a society building socialism.

We must be more resolute in striving to attain these values and Marxism's humanist message. This is particularly important in view of the younger generation's moral sensitivity and its increased need for knowledge; it wants to take part in finding effective solutions to the problems posed by life. We particularly address the task of developing our party's positive ideological activity to Marxist theoreticians, journalists, and instructors.

A Constitution Suited to Today's Conditions and Future Needs [subhead]

Guided by the need to provide a legal form for and legal confirmation of changes to the Polish sociopolitical system, the 10th congress declared itself to be in favor of changes to the Constitution. Public debate will determine whether the introduction of essential amendments suffices or whether work needs to begin on a new Constitution.

It is essential that this Basic Law contains formulations that will strengthen the role of the Constitution as the highest source for the fundamental and, at the same time, most precise norms regulating the most important areas of public life. We believe that the Constitution should describe sociopolitical and economic relations more profoundly, elaborate on the way in which civil rights and responsibilities are understood, and clearly define the goals, scope, and character of all the principal elements of the political system, including an explanation of the essence of self-management and its prospects in a socialist state. A constitutional solution needs to be found to the question of the structure of People's Councils and the Sejm, should it be a single or two-chamber body, would it not, for example, be appropriate to establish an organ that would represent regional self-government bodies in our parliament. Experience

strongly suggests that consideration ought to be given to harmonizing the terms of office of representative organs at all levels and bringing them into line with the duration of socioeconomic plans. These are just some of the questions that have to be addressed during the course of preparations for the preliminary, initial principles concerning changes to the Constitution.

Counting on the Best [subhead]

Economic reform, democratization, the accord process—all these things mean that today we require a much bolder cadre policy and one that is implemented in a completely consistent fashion above all. One important action in the renewal process was the 13th Central Committee Plenum's adoption of principles that make it obligatory to favor people who are valuable, able, and are morally and professionally ready to accomplish the tasks that are entrusted to them. There have been significant achievements, but at the same time there have been many striking irregularities. Individuals who are particularly able receive too little support. Many party organizations and echelons do not create sufficient scope for activity for people who are restless and are boldly seeking new ways of being active. Insufficient courage and responsibility is being displayed with respect to the future, and there is too much misplaced concern for the peace and quiet of indolence and for "your own people." The party's authority and faith in the process of renewal is being weakened by cases in which cadre assessments are based on criteria other than merit, people who are colorless and accommodating are preferred, and the appointments that are made are limited to a closed circle of people. At the same time, this "negative selection" obscures the picture of a cadre that is for the most part competent, hardworking, selfless, and deserving of respect and recognition.

The failure to apportion responsibility for tasks to concrete individuals to a sufficient degree remains a particularly weak aspect of our cadre policy. It causes a great amount of harm.

At the 10th congress we recalled Lenin's words that, for Communists to preserve the essential right of supervision and setting courses "we also need supervision of Communists by people who are not party members." This process is frequently hampered by fear of public control and public evaluation of cadre decisions. The Leninist thesis that "the masses should know about everything, express an opinion about everything, and exercise an influence on everything" must also apply to personnel policy. The party wants this to be the case. Bearing this in mind, the party welcomes initiatives launched by PRON, social organizations, and advisory bodies. This is because such action is an essential element of its open method of operating, its reliability, and its credibility.

We consider it necessary to strengthen the role of representative organs, self-management bodies, and plant managers in cadre policy by strict observance of the statutory powers that primary party organizations possess in this area.

We will oppose the emergence of various plant or local "nomenklaturas," which are incompatible with party resolutions. What is more, the present time calls for a fundamental reassessment of this idea and the methods of cadre selection, evaluation, and promotion that are associated with it. Our country needs cadre selection to have an extensive social base and to entail the application of objective criteria. It needs the resolute promotion of efficiency and innovation and the attendant ingenuity and positive personal qualities. It also needs an expanded cadre reserve that includes young, outstanding people, and greater concern for improving the skills and qualifications of existing managers.

We are in favor of an increase in the number of posts that are filled by way of competition. The usefulness of this method has already proved itself in practice. The great majority of the 2,000 directors who have been appointed in this way are performing well.

However, competitive appointments have not ensured that greater promotion prospects exist for nonparty specialists, including economists and experts in the theory of organization and management, and for young people and women above all. These groups should be covered by the competitive appointments system to a much greater extent. More determined use should also be made of the cadre reserve. The competitive system should be employed more extensively in appointments to managerial positions in enterprises, the departments of ministries, state administration offices, cooperative organizations, scientific research units, and other units and institutions. It is necessary to resolutely strengthen the trend, which has emerged in recent years, of selecting people who are not party members for managerial positions. In 1985 nonparty members accounted for 22 percent of the total number of people recommended by party echelons for managerial positions. In 1986 they already accounted for 30 percent of that number. However, we must go further, we must display more confidence in people. A nonparty member who is devoted to People's Poland must enjoy equal opportunities for promotion when it is merited.

Cadre policy must count on young people. At the present time one-fourth of the nominations to posts that require party recommendations involve people who are under the age of 35. However, in the state administration the number of newly-appointed young managers is declining. In the economy only every 25th person who is appointed to the post of enterprise director by way of competition is a young person. Active encouragement of the development of a young cadre, finding, creating, and

appointing talented and dynamic graduates, and providing them with opportunities for promotion, and encouraging skills, boldness, and innovation on the part of young people—is one condition for progress and one of the highest responsibilities of all party cells.

The practical application of the principles of cadre policy approved at the 13th plenum will be appraised at one of the next plenary sessions of the Central Committee. It will make it possible to reveal fully the causes of existing weaknesses and will establish courses for essential moves in this extraordinarily important area.

These are the planned activities for creating a Polish model for the far-reaching democratization of political life; activities that are designed to effect a qualitative expansion of self-management, the expansion of civil rights, the strengthening of the state, the creation of socialist pluralism, and a new stage in national accord.

3. The Economic Reform—Counting on Enterprise, Efficiency, and Equilibrium [chapter head]

In accordance with the guidelines set by the 10th Congress, the Fifth PZPR Central Committee Plenum viewed the second stage of the economic reform substantively and expressed resolute support for it. We see it as providing an opportunity to solve our complicated problems and as a difficult but realistic path leading to an enterprising and efficient society and to the acceleration of national development.

The new undertakings go far beyond the material sphere and cover fundamental sociopolitical and cultural changes. We are combining efforts to achieve efficiency, enterprise, economic equilibrium, and broad receptivity to innovation and scientific and technical progress with the establishment of social justice and a healthy attitude toward work. We are combining changes in central planning and managing and the enhancement of organizational forms and economic instruments with a transformation of the system of government designed to increase the role of work forces and citizens as a whole in decisionmaking processes, with an expansion of democracy and self-management, and with improving and strengthening the socialist state.

The most important task is to increase efficiency. This will determine whether the economy is capable of satisfying social needs. This policy combines the class and national contents of party policy. The workers class, more than anyone else, is interested in seeing an increase in enterprise efficiency and efficiency in the economy as a whole, in the far-reaching restructuring of the economy, in order and efficiency in the work place, in an increase in supply for production and consumption, and in appropriate rewards for the hard work of groups and individuals.

The enhancement of the economic reform will also have positive consequences for farmers, and it will improve the conditions for implementing the stable principles of state agricultural policy.

This course geared toward modernity, scientific, technical and organizational progress, initiative and enterprise, and improved relations between people is also very closely connected with the aspirations and wishes of the intelligentsia.

Thus, the second stage of the reform is appropriate to the main current present in the postulates voiced by working people. It opens up prospects for the just distribution not of shortages but of a growing number of goods and resources.

The question of whether the economy should be reformed further is no longer a problem. The real question is the rate at which change should be introduced. Should it proceed more quickly, which means that the economy ought to be subject to strict criteria of efficiency and that the increase in demands that this would entail would have to be accepted, or should it proceed more slowly, which means that annoying problems will persist for longer and the prospect of accelerated national development and an improvement in living conditions will become more distant.

The Starting Point for Economic Equilibrium [subhead]

Inadequate management has extensive negative consequences. The lack of economic equilibrium is one such basic consequence. The effects of this are felt by everybody—producers and consumers, the entire economy and individual enterprises, and every family.

The normalization of the marketplace depends on ensuring equilibrium and on eliminating lines, difficulties in making purchases, speculation, trade in hard currencies, and various kinds of "black market" phenomena. Equilibrium is also a necessary condition for reducing distribution and other forms of administrative interference in the functioning of enterprises.

The attainment of equilibrium will ensure that reform mechanisms will not permit slackness, stagnation, and waste, that they are fully effective, and that they produce tangible results by releasing initiative and enterprise. At the fifth plenum we stressed that we do not consider raising prices to be one of the basic instruments for achieving economic equilibrium. We consider raising managerial efficiency and increasing output to be the most important elements. However, prospects for achieving a rapid increase in the supply of scarce goods are limited. There is also a need to eliminate unjustified subsidies for goods and services, so that prices reflect true values and are neither artificially reduced by payments out of the budget, nor artificially raised by high taxes or unreliable calculations. All this means that in 1988 it will be necessary to introduce important price

hikes and changes in the structure of prices. This will be accompanied by appropriate compensation and an upward revision of the value of people's savings. This should contribute to the attainment of equilibrium and intensify the efficiency-oriented effect of reform mechanisms. It should make it easier to effect a definite reduction in the inflation rate and raise the standard of living. We believe that an understanding of these necessities and a rational attitude toward them will prevail in the national referendum.

Conditions for Enterprise [subhead]

In the long term, our country's socioeconomic prospects will depend on the development of enterprise. We support the development of mechanisms for the effective encouragement of enterprise. Enterprise must obtain a qualitatively higher status in the economy, in public life, and in the socialist order of values. For this to be achieved it is necessary to establish enterprise independence and self-management, eliminate unnecessary regulations that cramp activity, introduce more flexible forms of ownership and organization in the economy, and have efficient incentive systems. We support the idea that above-average achievements ought to warrant above-average wages.

Enterprise calls for realistic economic parameters, particularly wages that are appropriate to the quality of work, and prices that reflect justified production costs and actual market conditions. When goods and services are in short supply, principles of economic efficiency are distorted, and discretionary subsidies are granted, then enterprise performance can become—and in many cases it is—a caricature of the economy, bad practices appear, "small people with big interests" come to the fore, and encouragement is given to parasitism and speculation in all sectors of the economy.

Enterprise cannot be a way of accumulating money regardless of the cost, or of acquiring a high position by obtaining wealth through antisocial methods. The healthy development of enterprise should pave the way to competition; who will produce the goods and services that are sought better, more quickly, and more cheaply, and can adapt to new market conditions and requirements. Competition of this kind does not run counter to the principles of socialist management. Genuine rivalry and healthy competition conform to economic laws, create a greater feeling of responsibility among work forces, and make it possible to appraise groups and individuals objectively. It motivates people to do good work, eliminates shoddiness and dishonesty, and instead of establishing a common standard "downwards" it encourages ambitions and creates greater opportunities to satisfy ambitions. It also raises the standard of general knowledge about the economy and rids it of illusions, stereotypes, and one-sided claims.

Misgivings are being increasingly voiced about whether this emphasis on enterprise and competition will not weaken social justice and condemn the weak to be losers. However, one can ask whether advocating the primacy of distribution while neglecting efficiency and enterprise would not be the same as the prospect of the equal distribution of poverty and hardships? The content of the socialist principle "from each according to his ability to each according to his work" is being unavoidably distorted and cancelled out when motivation is weakened and insufficient results are obtained.

We still have a long way to go before we understand the rules of the economic game, before we consider competition to be the creation of conditions for "throwing people overboard," and before we see the rebirth of the capitalist principle that he who is stronger is always right. Socialist competition has an entirely different character. The attainment of success does not mean the advancement of a capable minority at the expense of the rest, but the greater satisfaction of the needs of all society. However, the resources that are needed for this can only be created by according clear preference to production and enterprise.

Concerning the Efficiency of the Socialist Sector [subhead]

New theoretical generalizations are required by experience concerning property relations, both in terms of types and forms of ownership and the way in which property is used.

In shaping the structure of ownership, we will be primarily guided by the desire to create favorable conditions for the development of productive forces in accordance with the principle of justice, and of satisfying the needs of working people.

The cornerstone of socialist social relations, national development, social security, and a higher standard of living for working people is and will remain social ownership of the means of production. What is important is that the basic class value of socialism should be realized in ways that are increasingly better adapted to concrete conditions and to modern requirements of efficiency, effectiveness, and receptiveness to innovation. Life has shown that there is a need for greater diversity with respect to solutions concerning public ownership. The trend toward a unified system that has prevailed until now has not encouraged real progress toward socialization in terms of greater initiative and enterprise on the part of work forces. It has also harmed the expansion of such effective forms as small state-owned innovation enterprises, cooperatives, and small-scale regional industry.

The workers class represented in large-scale industry and large-scale socialist enterprises has played and is playing an enormous role in the economy and public life of our country. But we have also become convinced that

"large" and "state-owned" does not always mean "better," "more nationalized," or "the better satisfaction of needs." And "state-owned" might not really be socialist if it means living off those who are working better, poor quality output, the waste of human energy, raw materials, and machinery, when there is a lack of concern about human affairs, relations between people are poor, and social bodies play a minimal role.

The economic reform is a stake on the coexistence, under Polish conditions, of various types and forms of property and the best possible use of the economic merits of both of them.

However, the view that the key to economic success would seem to be the unlimited expansion of private capital and even reprivatization lacks a substantive basis, is divorced from economic and social realities, and is essentially naive and illusory.

National development and the working people's standard of living will depend, above all, on the prevalent, public form of ownership. The solutions contained in the second stage of the reform serve this goal. They pave the way for work forces to be enterprising, create greater opportunities for people who display initiative, and encourage a striving for modernity. They create conditions for state enterprises to distinguish themselves in the field of innovation, to adapt to the needs of the market and the economy, and to ensure that high efficiency levels mean that hardworking people receive good wages. These conditions should mean that being a member of the work force of a state enterprise makes it possible to satisfy one's occupational aspirations, gives one a feeling of being involved in decisionmaking and managing, and is a source of satisfaction. They should also mean that the production functions of an enterprise are combined with concern about working conditions and the satisfaction of the social and cultural needs of an employee and his family.

The party supports the government's proposal to establish communal ownership. Work on a legal framework for social ownership of this kind needs to be finalized.

We also support the objective of permitting the free circulation of assets between socialized enterprises (in the form of shares, for example) so that factors of production are transferred to those units that are operating the most efficiently.

The financial assets of the population can also be used more to step up activity in the socialized sector of the economy. The issuing of bonds that would assist the implementation of programs that are important for citizens (for example, the installation of telephones, gas installation, and the automobile industry) would have important socioeconomic advantages. It would also have an important political value connected with the democratization of the state economic decisionmaking process.

We are resolutely in favor of better conditions for the unhampered development of all forms of cooperative ownership. Cooperative ownership has a rich tradition in Poland; it has made a great contribution to the development of the economy and public life, and has trained a large number of selfless activists. Working within the framework of the law on cooperatives, we will seek to "denationalize" and debureaucratize this sector, and fully restore principles of self-management to it. In accordance with the provisions of the second stage of the reform, there will be a fundamental change in the ways in which the state can affect the operation of cooperatives. We believe that the practice of "one man runs the cooperative" ought to be eliminated, as well as the practice of reducing the role of the cooperative to one of executing an immense number of instructions from above. There should also be a fundamental simplification of the procedure for creating new cooperatives and the many-layered structure of the bodies that supervise them. We support the direction of the government's legislative initiatives, which are designed to end obligatory membership of cooperative associations and obligatory contributions to central funds.

Central Guidance—Enterprise Independence [subhead]

Far-reaching changes are taking place in the way in which public property is employed. There will be an increase in the importance of work on planning and programs done by central institutions. This work determines long-term conditions for the management of enterprises, provides forecasts, and makes it possible to influence the operation of enterprises. Central guidance with respect to economic processes will focus on such basic areas and tasks as: the appropriate distribution of national income; the restructuring of the economy with a view to increasing efficiency; scientific and technical progress; the expansion of exports; the better satisfaction of consumption needs; the coordination of social policy; and the creation of economic instruments, including the principles of prices and incomes policy and production norms. This guidance system will be developed with the help of institutional and parameter-based mechanisms; it will mark the end of a period during which central guidance meant the direct administration of production processes in practical terms.

Alongside this, there will be a definite strengthening of the role of enterprise work forces as users of part of the nation's assets. This also means that work forces will have a broader mandate with regard to economic matters. We also support an increase in the role of horizontal ties in the socioeconomic system. Many of the problems that have so far been resolved by state organs ought to be gradually transferred to and solved by work forces, between enterprises themselves, and within the system of regional self-government.

An Increased Role for Self-Management [subhead]

The expansion of self-management is part of the party policy contained in our program and of our socialist view of the future. It cannot lag behind the expansion of enterprise independence and self-financing. Managerial boards and the managerial cadre must possess the powers that they need in a clearly defined form as well as strong material and professional incentives. However, it would be short-sighted and fundamentally at variance with the legal system that is in force to reduce the role of self-management bodies to one of assisting managerial boards. The full use of the social driving force behind the reform and the attainment of the reform's economic and social goals calls for the strengthening of all the functions of work force self-management bodies. This stems from the very essence of the socialist system of management. This is because the reform will only succeed when work forces have more incentives to raise productivity levels, and this is something that is closely connected with a feeling of being involved in managing and decisionmaking, that is, with self-management.

We are also striving to strengthen self-management in its representative forms and to enhance indirect forms of self-management, such as partnership groups in particular. We believe that it is necessary to increase the scope for self-management activity in structures above the plant level. The necessary amendments to the law on cooperatives ought to provide for the creation of a basis for self-management activity not only in an individual plant but at the level of the entire cooperative. The legal protection afforded members of self-management bodies should operate without any difficulties.

A basic reduction in the number of enterprises that are considered of fundamental importance for the national economy, in which directors are appointed by parent bodies, will produce an important increase in the authority of self-management bodies in 90 significant plants.

Unofficial and frequently illegal interference by parent bodies in the internal affairs of enterprises has to be restricted and eliminated. At the same time, it must be remembered that enterprise independence and self-management means assuming full responsibility for performance and the quality of work.

The new stage of the reform will increase the importance of harmonious work within the system comprising the managerial board, the plant PZPR organization, the self-management body, the trade union, and other social organizations. Every element in this system will find new tasks and new areas of responsibility under the second stage of the reform. Practice will provide answers to many questions, but it is clear that it is the responsibility of the party organization to unite all the forces and social elements in an enterprise around the principal goals and tasks.

Equal Rights and Opportunities, and the Responsibilities of all Economic Units [subhead]

A great many controversial opinions are expressed about the activities of the nonagricultural private sector. It is wrong to believe that every form of individual economic activity is, by its very nature, incompatible with socialism and that it inevitably leads to the reappearance of the exploitation of labor. Our position is that if individual economic activity performs well at satisfying social needs, then it ought to be guaranteed a stable place in our economic system. Our party advocated a solution of precisely this kind at the fifth plenum. We believe that support ought to be given to the SD proposal that the place of the private sector in the national economy ought to be defined in the Constitution. It will also be necessary to establish a rational employment level for units in this sector. It would be possible to exceed this level on condition that a unit then becomes partly state-owned. State organs ought to effectively enforce regulations concerning working conditions, which also apply to this sector.

In creating conditions for healthy activity in the nonagricultural private sphere and strengthening cooperation and integration between various sectors, steps should also be taken to direct the private sector toward satisfying the population's needs above all. There ought to be an expansion of private sector activity in the following areas in particular: crafts, services, small-scale production of consumer goods, housing repair work and housing construction, and production for export. It should also be able to operate in the area of developing new technologies, including information technology, and the production of medical equipment. A rational and discriminatory fiscal policy with regard to private producers ought to assist the expansion of favored areas in manufacturing and services. At the same time, efforts should be made to ensure that the law is observed, and harsher penalties for tax evasion ought to be introduced. There can be no place for the rapacious acquisition of wealth, obtaining wealth through speculation, tax evasion, "black market" activity and exploiting the difficulties that the latter produces. The elimination of the main causes of these negative phenomena requires, above all, a balanced economy, the creation of a buyer's market, and a healthy currency. We believe that it is necessary, for reasons of efficiency, to ensure that private businesses enjoy equal access to supplies of raw materials, credits, and, at the same time, to place the private sector on an equal footing with the socialized sector with regard to taxation and participation in the development of the socioeconomic infrastructure.

We are in favor of an appropriately varied taxation system with respect to private enterprises: lower taxation on revenue used for the expansion of production, and higher taxation on revenue used for consumption.

The taxation system in the economy as a whole should not drain revenue out of the economy but have a stimulating effect. This calls for far-reaching change directed toward adapting taxation principles to the efficiency-oriented provisions of the second stage of the reform.

At the same time, conditions will be created permitting socialized sector units, particularly in the small-scale production field, to operate more flexibly. The existing checks on enterprise and rational operation will be lifted, and this will increase the market competitiveness of these units.

The equal status of all three sectors in agriculture has already been affirmed by the Constitution, in accordance with the joint position of the PZPR and ZSL. It envisages cooperation between individual farms and the mutually advantageous distribution of tasks among them, and, at the same time, competition aimed at making better use of factors of production and a greater contribution to feeding the nation.

The party program stated that the concentration of production and land, including the consolidation of land, is an objective trend that defines the nature of changes in agriculture. But in agriculture, as in other areas, further changes in ownership relations ought to depend on goodwill as well as efficiency, the ability to increase output, and the best possible use of material and other resources.

Economic Principles and Mechanisms [subhead]

In directing economic development, the role of market mechanisms and the extent to which they are used will increase as the reform progresses. In practice this means, above all, observance of the objective nature of the economic laws governing the commodity and money economy and, in particular, observance of the laws of value and of supply and demand. The laws of the market are universal and apply to every economy in which there is money. Socialism has created conditions that allow market mechanisms to be used within the framework of the planned satisfaction of social needs. The view that the use of planning instruments to influence the economy is entirely incompatible with market forces has been shown to be wrong; it was an expression of theoretical dogmatism and arbitrariness in practice.

The essence of the problem is the extent to which and the way in which the market can be used within the framework of a planned form of economic development. The actual solutions provided by economic policy must be appropriate to the specific features of a given area of the economy. There are areas, especially those that exercise the greatest influence on modernity and productivity, in which the mechanism of long-term state planning will play a predominant role. There are also areas in which the structure of production and the range of commodities produced will be primarily determined by market forces. However, principles of economic efficiency must apply in every case, which also means that prices must reflect the socially necessary input of labor and the relationship between supply and demand.

"More" or "less" socialism in the economy does not depend on the extent to which market principles apply but on whether the system as a whole operates effectively and in accordance with the needs of society.

In the development of our socialist economy, social and ideological criteria ought to determine the goals of economic policy and the character of the economic system, and such criteria should also be employed in assessing the performance of the system. However, the way in which goals are attained and the methods that are used to accomplish plan tasks must be determined by principles of economic efficiency. These criteria of economic efficiency must exist alongside enterprise independence and work force self-management.

Realizing and Enhancing Social Justice [subhead]

The changes that are being introduced establish a much closer link between distribution and an individual's work as well as the results produced by a work force and the groups of which it is composed. This enhances the principle of social justice. Our position is unambiguous: Justice does not mean paying someone for being present in his work place but for the results that are produced; better wages in a good enterprise and lower wages in an enterprise that is run badly. It is right to eliminate monopolistic practices that lead to unwarranted privileges. It is right to be ruthless in the observance of economic rigors that are designed to eliminate inefficiency and waste. Thus, there must be a more resolute application of the principle that inefficient enterprises are allowed to become bankrupt and their assets are transferred to efficient and effective enterprises; and in determining prospects for expansion, steps should be taken to ensure that resources are not made available to inefficient producers.

What remains of the old habits of the command system is making itself strongly felt in this area. We must eliminate the harmful practice that some party committees engage in of acting as "defense lawyers" for inefficient enterprises that have found themselves on the verge of bankruptcy through their own fault. It is not permissible to allow opportunistic acceptance of inefficiency, the desire for superficial calm, and the avoidance of inconvenience to prevail over long-term thinking in terms of efficiency. Alongside the other costs that this entails, it creates a stereotype of our party as a conservative force in the public mind. A large number of our people accept that there should be greater differences of earnings in the national economy under the condition that these differences will be matched by true differences in performance, will help increase the quality of performance, and will boost one's responsibility for one's results in work. We are in favor of greatly differentiating incomes under just such conditions. People should not be resentful when the manager of an efficient and rapidly developing enterprise, the author of outstanding scientific achievements, the engineer who is an inventor, the worker who has rationalizing ideas, and the foreman and

the brigade leader in charge of an outstanding production brigade earn wages many times over the average wage. Such earnings are just if they are honest and are the result of outstanding performance, talent, and an enterprising spirit. The wage and taxation system should respect this principle.

However, today the many differences in the wages in the socialized and private sectors are not results of actual performance. There are even cases when those who earn higher wages produce less than the average workers. Achieving economic balance, using correct motivational systems, strengthening the zloty, curbing inflation, and boosting the requirements of effectiveness in the course of the second stage of economic reform are the road to eliminating these anomalies. Aside from economic mechanisms, we will continue to exploit social and legal instruments, to expand social control, particularly the Worker-Peasant Inspection Teams, to stimulate social pressure by various means, including the movement to defend the consumers' rights, to promote public criticism, to use fiscal instruments, and to apply punitive measures, if necessary.

A sense of being someone who counts, who is ambitious, and seeks merited promotion should play an important role in our economic system, together with material incentives. Socialist values amount to much more than just earning wages consistent with performance.. These values go much further and apply especially to the ethos of work. The weakening of this ethos is a particularly dangerous social phenomenon. Poland now needs a social accord and a broad alliance in favor of good performance and professional mastery. This is an especially broad field of action for the party, PRON, workers' self-management bodies, trade unions, youth organizations, the Chief Technical Organization, and for other vocational, professional, and creative associations. As the 19th plenum stressed, the cultivation and promotion of the best traditions of the Polish intelligentsia's service for society are of special significance. Our expectations of the professions which determine scientific-technological progress, cultural development, and the successful renewal of political and economic life if their efforts are honestly and creatively performed, are based on our intention to strengthen the social prestige of these professions.

Raising the moral value of work is a very important field of action for party organizations in plants. Cooperating with plant managements, social organizations, and whoever values the social worth of work, party organizations should seek to strengthen ties with workers and to enrich motives for work. The plant centers of education and information have a great deal to accomplish in this regard.

For Man, For A Better Life [subhead]

We can achieve social goals and ensure comprehensive justice by paying wages for actual performance, by providing everyone with equal chances, and by making education, culture, and social and general security available to everyone through economic reform and efforts to increase effectiveness. No matter what, we must never forget that the socialist economy is for man, for the people, and for a better life.

Resolving the housing problem, curbing inflation, and improving the flow of consumer goods are some of the main goals of the second stage of economic reform. The stagnation or even regression in housing construction in some areas must not continue. It is true that housing construction has to suffer because of the past crises, and that reduced production of cement and other building materials, reduced imports of materials, increased costs of the communal infrastructure, growing difficulties of finding new building sites, and so on continue to hinder progress, but other structural and objective reasons for the extremely bad housing situation are also there.

Although we criticize the excess of various priorities, we regard overcoming the housing crisis as a political priority. At one of the Central Committee plenums next year the government should present a concrete program for speeding up housing construction so that 4 million apartments can be built up to the year 2000, in line with the PZPR program.

Good results obtained by some voivodships show that much depends on the initiative and energy of all participants in the housing program. In Sieradz region it takes not quite 14 months to build an apartment, while the average figure for the country is 21 months. This year Sieradz region has produced 31 percent more apartments than last year. The cost of 1 square meter of usable floor was relatively low and amounted to Z34,500. Radom, Przemysl, and Slupsk Voivodship are almost on a par with Sieradz, but Wroclaw Voivodship still continues to build little at high prices. By the end of October, Wroclaw Voivodship had completed only 46.8 percent of its annual housing plan, although this plan amounts to just over two-thirds of last year's plan. In addition, in that voivodship it takes over 30 months to complete an apartment building at the record-breaking cost of Z45,400 for 1 square meter of usable floor. The situation in Kalisz and Zielona Gora Voivodships is not much better. The economic and social crisis has badly affected the educational system. Our funds to develop the material base and to eliminate shortages of teachers are moderate, the social interest in education has decreased, and the proportion of worker and peasant students continues to shrink. Present countermeasures have failed. What we need is to fully implement the 24th Central Committee Plenum resolution to train teachers, to modernize teaching programs, methods, and the material base, and to eliminate more speedily the differences in the educational conditions in urban and rural areas. Work on a long-term model of our national education should also be speeded up.

The implementation of the state's social functions has to be deeply analyzed and crucially changed. We are not a state that "spoon-feeds" its citizens, nor do we want to reduce the basic state welfare achievements, which are inviolable and a result of the humane nature of socialism. Free education, state health services, and access to culture are achievements we will not waste. On the contrary, we will seek to better satisfy people's needs in these regards, because these needs are often badly met. On the other hand, we must change the ratio between that which the state bodies "give," "apportion," and "ensure" in the form of budgetary subsidies and that which individual people, worker collectives, and professional groups achieve through their work in line with economic rules. We will attack these extremely complicated issues at the Second National Conference of Delegates. We declare most resolutely that the necessary help and effective social protection must and will be ensured for individuals and groups of people who are unable to improve their conditions by increasing their efforts at work. This applies especially to all pensioners—to all who have devoted their efforts to rebuilding and developing the country.

We do not intend to commercialize all areas of social policy. While the rules of the market should be used on a larger scale in, say, tourism or entertainment, they should not be mechanically extended to education or theaters. The state must see that people can read more books, but there are areas such as the health service in which free state health care should be supplemented by commercialized health care.

Social insurance funds are often used irrationally and are even wasted. We must establish prices on social, cultural, and educational services so that those who administer the large funds for this purpose become more economical. We look forward to government proposals in this connection.

Often the social funds meant for people in tight circumstances are intercepted by dishonest people, who produce fictitious certificates, enter into fictitious marriages, arrange for fictitious divorces, and use other devices to lead a parasitic existence at the cost of society and those who really need help. While control checks must be tightened and these phenomena must be effectively countered, what we need most is social condemnation of these phenomena. Our social policy should also be made more flexible through greater decentralization of decisionmaking, through apportioning funds to suit conditions, and through making plants to take greater care of their work forces. The proposal that self-management bodies and plant managements, on the one hand, and trade unions, on the other, should sign social accords is right. Such accords could decide how the funds earned additionally by work forces could benefit them by, say, extending facilities for prophylactic examinations of patients, acquiring new rest homes, promoting plant-backed housing construction, and so on.

Trade unions should enrich the state's social policy. We take the view that trade unions' social functions should be expanded. Trade unions should be able to set up their own social security facilities to supplement the performance of the Social Security Agency. They could increase their material base by increasing their shares in the property and profits of enterprises, or by owning entire enterprises.

Although the socialist state will always guarantee one's constitutional right to work, this right must not be abused by placing a worker in an unsuitable post. This right does not amount to the privilege of permanent employment in a given job and to a shoddy implementation of one's duties. This right demands effective and socially useful work. It is in the interest of the community that workers can be moved, can change their qualifications, and can be rationally employed for the benefit of the economy. This should not give rise to any public anxiety, because we have no room for real unemployment and for the immoral unemployment at "regular posts" and in "protected jobs." But we have room for honest, economically effective, and personally satisfying work, and for healthy and much more extensive competition for better jobs.

We evaluate very critically the present certification of jobs, which should help us to achieve the aforementioned goals. In most cases this certification has been spurious. Bureaucratic mystification has been used to fight bureaucracy. Job certification must be carried out energetically and effectively, and this must be done by evaluating jobs more closely, verifying valid production norms, and radically curbing bureaucratic processes. Dividing the consumption fund into individual and collective consumption funds is a central issue of social policy. The position of the 10th PZPR Congress on this issue is still valid. We want increases in the collective consumption fund to go hand in hand with increases in personal incomes. Today, increases in individual wages tied to productivity increases are a very prominent issue, because it is necessary to provide stronger incentives for personal and collective productivity, effectiveness, and innovation, as this helps to increase the funds for collective consumption, education, health, culture, and general social security. The PZPR program states: "This is what a harmonious union of the principles of social justice with the rigors of effective economic management requires."

At its ninth congress our party proposed the economic reform and at its 10th congress it proposed the second stage of this reform, which will be a difficult test of party guidance. We think that the Central Committee could annually inform the people about the progress of economic reform. The party promised the people to consistently realize the reform and to overcome every obstacle in doing so. This pledge is of fundamental significance because, wiser through bitter experience, we know that

there can be no repeat of the past practices when the necessary changes were abandoned under the pressure of opposing forces or unfavorable circumstances.

Today consistent reforms, however difficult, are the basic condition for accelerating our march to modernity and prosperity, for increasing Poland's share in the international division of production, and for ensuring a worthy position for our country in the world.

4. Reform Is a Great Initiative and the Party's Basic Duty [chapter head]

The 10th congress stated: "The party leadership is the 'principle of principles' of our system and proceeds from unshakable historical, class, ideological, and moral foundations." We also stressed that "there is no more important issue for the Marxist-Leninist party than the trust of the workers class and the party's credibility and authority among the working people." As the congress stated: "Whatever pains the people is bound to pain the party. This is the basic condition for social trust in us."

At the Head of Changes [subhead]

All tasks connected with the role, leadership, and service of the PZPR are focused in socialist renewal. We are at the head of it. This is our great idea and basic duty. The party implements this process and its goals and sees that its requirements are met.

All PZPR party cells, organizations, aktivs, and members must actively participate in the reforms to ensure their success. Passivity will not do. They all must help to overcome difficulties, effectively reduce the costs of changes, and increase their results.

The party's role in the new stage of socialist renewal will be strictly determined by the work each one of us performs and by our ability to cope with the reform's requirements.

Will each of us opt for rational and effective solutions and back this option by the right attitude?

Will each one of us produce a valuable initiative or back to the hilt the effective implementation of other people's initiatives?

Will each one of us back honest and courageous people, whose performance is effective and innovative?

Will each one of us risk openly criticizing injustice and wrongdoings, which are still plentiful? Will each one of us effectively eliminate various kinds of nonsense and neglect, combat waste, and oppose red tape and conservatism?

Will each one of us do effective work in democratic institutions?

Will each one of us, together with his team, ensure that his primary party organization sets examples in democracy in daily conduct, without compromising discipline and performance?

Will each one of us know how to talk with people, how to listen to them, and how to attract them to his views with the help of reliable knowledge and good examples?

Answers to these questions will determine the increase of our party's role in the reforms.

We discussed these issues at the 13th and 20th plenums and, with the primary party organizations in mind, at the fourth plenum. The evaluations adopted at these plenums are still valid, but continue to be modified by the passage of time.

One task is to strengthen the party's ideological and moral core. The more perfect the party, the better it is equipped with Marxist-Leninist social knowledge; and the more politically and ideologically cohesive it is, the more capable it is of engaging in dialogue and in broader alliances and of attracting people.

Principled, Uniform, and Consistent Action [subhead]

Being in charge of changes compels the party to increase its intellectual and organizational efforts, defines anew its programming, controlling, inspiring, and cadre functions, changes the conditions of its role as leader and servant, and intensifies the implementation of this role.

Leading means, above all, continuing and intensifying the line of socialist renewal, answering questions, solving current problems, expanding national accord, being widely open, winning allies for reforms, and strengthening the party's creative Marxist-Leninist identity in doing all this. Guiding means above all adapting government and management to new socioeconomic requirements, promoting people whose performance is effective and original, and who can be taught to be independent, objective, and effective, and realizing the party program in all institutions of democracy and self-government.

Serving the people means above all being responsible before the workers class and the community, ensuring social justice, decisively combating indifference and various ills, and displaying the humane sensitivity and moral strength of socialism in big and small matters.

The party, which is as it has always been, which resorts to its best ideological sources and traditions, which is faithful to the basic interests of the workers class on a priority basis and which, as a workers party, is a national and profoundly patriotic party, will be able to cope with the present volume of tasks. At the same time, the party must continue to acquire new characteristics, to become increasingly receptive to new conditions and needs, to be

inquisitive and creative in thinking and innovative in practice, to promote socialist reforms consistently and unswervingly, and to implement their exacting demands in its own ranks.

This is how the fundamental principles and values of socialism expressed in the PZPR Program can be realized.

They are man's comprehensive development, his increased implementable rights, and the honest implementation of duties and obligations toward man, and they represent life and social relations that are full of humanistic values. They are efforts to strengthen the leading role of the workers class and its alliance with other classes and segments of the working people.

They are efforts to strengthen the socialist state by promoting democracy and the rules of self-government, and to ensure legality and discipline.

They are the true socialization of production assets, a just distribution of goods, and general social security.

They are efforts to raise the effectiveness of the planned economy and to meet society's needs with ever increasing effectiveness.

They are efforts to raise the status of work, creative ideas, and effective performance, and to increase the role of science, education, and culture in the country's development.

They are the patriotic duty toward the fatherland and the internationalist solidarity in the struggle for peace, democracy, and socialism.

It is patently wrong to divide the party into members who allegedly defend the class principles and members who blaze the path of changes. Genuinely principled integrity requires realism, loyalty to principles, the urge to innovate, the urge to preserve the party's identity, and the courage to make changes. Some people are afraid that the present practice of identifying the requirements of party integrity with the support for reforms amounts to an attempt to gag those who see more dangers than advantages in changes. We think that this is the view of a decisive minority of party members. Still, this minority should have the right to express its anxieties. We will continue to clarify doubts in open discussions without pinning any labels on anyone and without artificially dividing the party into "conservatives" and "reformers." On the other hand, we must be most resolute in countering every attempt from sectarian and dogmatic positions to hinder our reforms and every attempt to distort the nature of these reforms by practicing "the free game of forces" in the capitalist style.

In order to win the game of renewal we must be consistent in our activities, spread good experience, of which there is no lack, and effectively and consistently discard the inhibitions that are still present in our thinking and in the mechanisms of party action. It is precisely the party that would have to bear the biggest ideological and political costs for stagnation, passivity, opportunism, and the abandoning of socialist reforms.

Nothing will replace the party as the driving force of democratic changes, a force that is a rallying point for social doers and that continues to create models of high political culture. That is why we must be all the keener on intensifying internal party democracy, observing the Leninist norms of discussion and criticism, and creating a climate in which party comrades are aware that they are not only executors, but also sponsors of party resolutions. That is why we must be consistent in promoting the practice of sounding people's views before making the most important decisions. We must prepare these decisions in the open and take account of various approaches and concepts while preparing them.

The present times makes it necessary for party structures to become more self-reliant and to throw off the habit of automatically addressing every issue to the top central bodies for decision and of playing for safety, which is a practice that distorts the meaning and style of party activity.

In particular, one should bear in mind that in independent enterprises there will be no room for the practice of asking for instructions from above on the most petty matters. No one will make the necessary decisions for party organizations in enterprises. It is these organizations to which the 10th PZPR Congress' following postulate applies: "The party must make its choice by listening to various views and taking them into consideration; must support and realize whatever is right, and combat whatever is objectively against the working people's interests; and must never be afraid of unpopular issues. To be in favor of something is to be against something at the same time." The scope of and need for grassroots initiatives on the part of party activists and cells continue to greatly increase in the new economic and political situation. The variety of life in the period of changes must be matched by the richness and independent ingenuity of these initiatives and by the discipline of realizing decisions in force.

The party committees' effective political assistance for primary party organizations must not consist of a multitude of resolutions, instructions, sessions, briefings, paper work, and accountability reports. It should consist of inspiration, advice, direct contacts with people, the propagation of good experience, and a rapid and effective response to hints and proposals.

Priority of Political Methods [subhead]

It is never possible to establish by decree new tenets and methods of guidance under conditions of economic reform and of restructuring society and it is never possible to rely on theoretical and practical knowledge in

establishing these tenets and methods. This is because life continues to create tasks that have never been solved before and to transform the determining factors that influence the methods by which social development is managed. This means that the changing model of party guidance and leadership develops through the unity of the impulses provided by theory and practice, by past experience, and by new tasks.

Blazing the path of reforms amounts to ensuring that in its work the party gives absolute priority to political methods. This means that features such as old bad habits, insufficient contacts with people, and the absence of open dialogue and of bold activities with "the curtain up" must be wholly eliminated. It is impossible to replace political methods by bureaucratic commands, by delegating to others the tasks that should be fulfilled by the state and economic administration, and by restricting cadre policy to narrow areas, which are even closed at times. Such methods are at odds with the very nature of guidance and leadership, hinder efforts to rehabilitate the party's credibility, and cause political and economic damage.

The most important task is to go to the people, to overcome their daily cares and worries, to carefully listen to criticism and various proposals, and to clarify the goals and principles of party policy during direct contacts with people rather than during party sessions, which are attended by those who need no "convincing."

Primary party organizations should be more active in extending their work beyond their own meetings to the task groups and working teams and in establishing daily, informal contacts with nonparty people.

Political influence signifies that party members working in the state's executive bodies and above all those members who work in elected bodies, in territorial and workers self-management bodies, trade unions, and various associations make their impact on the course of events by militant activities in all these bodies and not by commands, recommendations, and instructions. This means that the laws must be respected and the tasks and attitudes of party members, especially of those whom the party recommends to various posts, must be closely defined and controlled. It is necessary to greatly expand the membership of state and economic administrative workers in party organizations in worker and peasant communities.

As a party, we must be increasingly militant in promoting the process by which decisions are made by the structures of the socialist state and in taking particular care of the democratism and comprehensive effectiveness of decision-making processes. For this reason we must profoundly study various views, expert reports, and forecasts and predict the social results and costs of various decisions.

We must increase efforts to attract nonparty people and strengthen ties with the communities which are for reforms. These people include primarily skilled workers and intellectuals who are mature in class awareness and who hail from technical, economic, and arts communities. They also include large numbers of young people who see our reforms as a march to modernity and as their opportunity to make progress. Many progressive farmers also support our reforms. These groups are in favor of our reforms, although they are greatly critical of our present conditions and of the party and state activities. We regard as normal the fact that people who criticize us are in favor of reforms at the same time. Our policy stems from the same source—from the critical evaluation of our experience and from the conviction that profound changes are necessary. We reject the simplified thesis that he who criticizes the party is its adversary and he who carries favor with it is our ally. We know that the reverse is also true.

As for young people, the radical stage of economic reform and the profound democratic changes are an answer to their justified and rational criticism and a basic argument against their overwhelming pessimism, frustration, and moods of internal and external banishment. The present surge of changes supplies meaningful arguments for openly and candidly talking about these issues. We do not say that things will be easy. What we say is that real hopes will be seen at the end of the tunnel of difficulties if young people do not miss their new opportunities and if they commit all their knowledge and energy to exploiting them. We expect that the socialist youth unions will focus their organizational and educational activities within the generation with real and not lost opportunities in precisely this area.

In Favor of the New [subhead]

The party in charge of changes must be able to discern and resolve contradictions between those who champion the intensification of socialist reforms and those who oppose them; between the orientation in favor of rational and original solutions and that in favor of old schemes; and between the need to increase the room for initiative, the enterprising spirit, self-government, social control, civil rights, and the autonomy and independence of communities, on the one hand, and the pathological cautiousness, formalism, red tape administration, and go-slow tactics practiced by some government bodies, on the other. The party must also be aware of the passivity of some segments of the people and their disregard of civic duties and standards.

Not everyone will like the more exacting requirements that economic reform places on us. Some people prefer to live and work in the old way rather than be subjected to the severe test of the new economic rules, intensified democracy and openness, stronger discipline, the rule of law, and public control. This conservatism, which is at

times veiled and which looks for ideological excuses, is very dangerous. We must wage a stubborn struggle against inertia, easy going, and opportunism within our system.

The party as a whole is in charge of socialist renewal. An important factor in intensifying this reformatory orientation and in increasing the forces that are in favor of reform will be the individual party talks before the National Conference of Delegates. We think that the platform of these talks, which were announced by the 10th party congress, should be more extensive—that is, that the teams set up by primary party organizations should also listen to the views of nonparty people, of activists in self-management bodies, trade unions, and youth organizations, and of everyone who has something to say, expects something from the party, and attaches his hopes and proposals to party policy.

Patriotism Is Substance of Ideoeducational Work [subhead]

Using political methods means learning from the working people, wisely and effectively intensifying ideoeducational work, and strengthening its role as an instrument of leadership. Renewal, which is also necessary in this area, must embrace the methods of ideoeducational work and must affect those who execute it—that is, the entire party and all its members.

Socialist patriotism is the subject of our ideological work and the basic value of the party's social service. Various lines of people's constructive thinking are based on patriotic values, which tie our national goals and responsibility for Poland with our class approach to social phenomena and processes. In accordance with the best traditions, our patriotism is part and parcel of internationalist solidarity with other peoples' progressive endeavors.

Modern patriotism signifies understanding of the Polish raison d'etat and opposition to nihilism, nationalistic arrogance, and irrational myths. It also signifies that all people are against provincial parochialism and egotism, that good order and discipline should prevail over disarray and selfishness, and that one does a good and honest job of work in one's own interest, despite some cynical assertions that one does not.

We think that such patriotism should be the overriding aim of education in schools, social organizations, production brigades, plant managements, the family, the churches, and, above all, the party.

New Tasks of Theory [subhead]

The changes in Poland and in the world of socialism call for deep theoretical research and general laws. The Polish social sciences have considerable achievements in many areas, but in some they are behind present requirements. Their primary task is to overcome the remnants of theoretical dogmatism and the tendency toward avoiding real problems and going for abstract notions or old subjects.

The dynamic development of social changes is responsible for the fact that today the issues pertaining to the forces that help develop socialism and to those forces that help hinder it, and, especially, the various contradictions in the process of the development of socialism, need new analyses and general laws.

How is it possible to combine effectiveness, the severe criteria of business accounting, the strong motivations for productive work, innovative elan, and the enterprising spirit with the consistent realization of social justice and social security? How is it possible to make sure that our system is able to place effective requirements on man and to provide effective security for him? How is possible to prevent the strong pressure of economic instruments from changing into the merciless mechanism of walking over the weak? How is it possible to prevent concern for man from changing into the mechanism that is an effective barrier to his energy and effort? These are the basic questions now facing the socialist countries. We hope that Polish scientists will make a worthy contribution toward resolving these questions. Marxist research workers should focus their efforts on the theory of ownership, the enterprising spirit and individual economic activity under conditions of socialism, the planning vis-a-vis the market, differentiated incomes, and the interpretation of motivations for work and social security. Changes in the structure of classes, communities, professions, and occupations are an important area of research and so is the position, role, alliances, internal differences, and further modifications of the party under the impact of scientific and technological progress and of the shifts in employment and vocational qualifications. The "top" and "grassroots" factors in socialist construction, the dialectics of individual and collective factors, and the development and changes of social awareness should be subjected to thorough sociological and psychological analyses. The functions of the state and the role of its bodies in the conditions of developing self-government institutions, the processes by which different social interests are expressed, the issues of socialist pluralism and national accord, and the norms of and conditions for successful personnel policy should be subjected to an in-depth theoretical consideration. It is necessary to promote research into the methods with which the party can effectively discharge its functions in the conditions of the democratized political system and economic reforms.

We continue to create and improve conditions for free development of the social sciences. We are in favor of free scientific research and of publishing the findings of such research. It is in this spirit that the regulations on control of publications and public entertainment should be interpreted with regard to scientific publications. We

condemn the practice of organizing campaigns against those who do not "toe the line;" this practice was so rife especially in the second half of the sixties. At the same time, we expect that, while consistently defending their principles, the social sciences will be increasingly effective in repulsing the invasion of the backward and essentially bourgeois theories and theses. We take the view that the scientific communities should more frequently show initiative in sponsoring great public discussions on the matters that are of fundamental importance for our people.

We have the right to expect that the freedom of research work and research publications will be exercised in the spirit of civic responsibility. At the same time, we believe that the party itself and various government bodies should be more thorough in determining the long-term needs of scientific work, should utilize valuable research findings, experiences, and opinions to a greater extent, and should have a better understanding of the critical functions of the sciences.

We think that the deliberations of the Third National Ideological-Theoretical Party Conference in the middle of 1988 should be devoted to precisely these key issues of the process of socialist renewal.

The position of the Academy of Social Sciences should be strengthened because this main theoretical institution of the party is still without proper achievements and has still not won the position it deserves. The Academy of Social Sciences must be more active in fulfilling its rallying and inspirational role in the research into the key issues of socialist changes. It should coordinate and attract the best Marxist staffs that deal with the social sciences. It should charge these staffs with solving specific research problems. The academy and its branches must tighten their demands vis-a-vis its employees, pursue a militant personnel policy, employ outstanding university graduates, create the best possible conditions of their development, and provide further educational facilities for the talented secondary school leavers, especially for the winners of competitions in sociopolitical knowledge. We also expect to be able to increase the participation of this party institution in the open discussions with representatives of the theoretical disciplines other than Marxism.

The Second National Party Session of Social Sciences should tackle the main tasks of the Marxist social sciences and to employ their achievements for the benefit of party policy. This session is expected to take place at the beginning of 1989. We propose to devote it primarily to a thorough analysis of the effectiveness of the union of theory and practice in socialist building and to a discussion of the experience, opportunities, and difficulties of this building, which is so important for Poland.

The entire practical knowledge which we have amassed in the process of socialist building in Poland and, in particular, the experience of the events in the seventies and eighties and the lessons stemming from this experience, are irrefutable proof that if socialism is to develop successfully and to realize its fundamental values and principles, it must continue to enrich its own systemic forms and to adapt them to changing social conditions and aspirations. However, no automatic mechanism or an anonymous "fate of history" will ever be able to initiate and to guarantee the process of reforms. In line with the circumstances of place and time, this must be done in all consciousness by the party of the workers class.

We have been late with changes on several occasions, and it did happen that although hints that profound reforms were indispensable would appear within the party, they always assumed a specific expression in the form of a protest by workers. Wiser by the bitter memories of this experience, we are convinced that the time has arrived to radicalize and accelerate our political and economic reforms. Otherwise we will mark time, will waste the great capital of the present achievements of normalization and renewal, and will help contradictions to pile up.

The road to profound reforms is not and will never be a freeway. This road will be beset by difficulties and conflicts at many points and intersections. To achieve success it is necessary to raise requirements and increase efforts. We are ready to do this, because if we fail to eliminate the methods that are now useless and to overcome old habits and routines as well as half-way measures, we will have to pay double damages for our present procrastination with regard to the economy, policy, the prospects for the young generation, and Poland's international position.

The changes we continue to make and to intensify are results of the dialectic laws of the process of history, in which new qualities continue to emerge and to mature side by side with the progressive solution of the inner contradictions of this process. These are the dialectic laws of necessary changes. The strategy of socialist renewal is the product of the knowledge of and respect for these laws. This strategy continues to respond to the need for effective economic management, for the consolidation of social justice, and for the development of democracy and the sovereignty of man. It helps to realize the class interests of the working people expresses the essence of the development of socialist social relations. We should bear in mind that this strategy does not fit in with the obsolete Stalinist model of socialism and its dogmatist shell. We must part with the remnants of this model for all times to come.

We are about to enter the road to further and more radical changes in the economy and in the performance of our political system.

We expect resolute and effective support for these processes from the social sciences, the entire ideological front, all the echelons of the system of social information and communication, from education, and from upbringing. These changes will be really effective only if they are

profound, comprehensive, and, above all, consistent. This is what the development of our country demands. This is what the best interests of our people and socialist state dictate.

Faithful to its patriotic mission and revolutionary calling, the PZPR will seek to achieve these goals with all possible determination and consistency.

Unrest Over Food Shortage, Wages in Brasov

2 Policemen Said Killed

AU271837 Paris AFP in English 1756 GMT 27 Nov 87

[Text] Brasov, Romania, Nov 27 (AFP)—Twenty-four people were still being detained on Friday following rioting over food shortages and pay cuts in this city 140 kilometers (90 miles) north of Bucharest on November 15, police said.

Two policemen were reportedly killed in clashes with up to 20,000 people protesting against restrictions on energy consumption, food shortages and pay reductions, Western sources said.

Official sources in Brasov said local Communist Party leaders and the management of the Steagul Rosu (Red Flag) truck and tractor plant, where the protests started, had been fired and an official inquiry opened.

They said wages, the non-payment of which had sparked the violence, had since been paid.

Unofficial sources denied that there had been further rioting after November 15.

Meanwhile in West Berlin, the ecologist-pacifist daily *Tageszeitung* said that 400 demonstrators had been arrested while other Western sources cited by the paper reported up to 2,000 arrests.

The rioting at Brasov, Romania's second largest city, is believed to be the worst outbreak of violence against the regime of President Nicolae Ceausescu in at least 10 years.

Brucan Warns Against Repression

AU281411 Paris AFP in English 0435 GMT 28 Nov 87

[By Bernard Meixner]

[Excerpt] Vienna, Nov 28 (AFP)—Sylviu Brucan, a senior Communist Party member, has issued a stern criticism of the Romanian Government and warned the authorities against crushing massive demonstrations of discontent over widespread hardship.

Mr. Brucan, a former Romanian ambassador to the United Nations and the United States, said riots this week at Brasov, Romania's second-largest city, meant that "the cup of privations is now full and the working class no longer accepts to be treated like an obedient servant."

In a statement distributed to foreign journalists, Mr. Brucan also said that a recent government decree limiting energy consumption was tantamount to "asking the workers to commit suicide by freezing in their bedrooms."

Mr. Brucan said the Romanian leadership was "facing a hard choice: mass repression, because we're dealing with thousands of workers, or a sincere effort to come to terms with their legitimate grievances."

"Repression might have incalculable repercussions, both domestic and international," Mr. Brucan warned, pointing out that "world public opinion is now a formidable force in the defence of human rights."

He said that "repression may only result in total isolation, this time not only from the West but also from the East. Moreover, repression will generate a rupture between the party and the working class."

Mr. Brucan, a social science professor, said that "as a veteran party member", he was "worried that such a course of action might prevail," and compared Romania's case to Poland's.

"We have seen in Poland what such a rupture means and how difficult it is for the party to regain the confidence of the workers even when the best of intentions to improve their lot is apparent".

Twenty-four people were still being detained Friday following rioting over food shortages and pay cuts in Brasov, 140 kilometers (90 miles) north of Bucharest, on November 15, police there said.

Two policemen were reportedly killed in clashes, with up to 20,000 people protesting against restrictions on energy consumption, food shortages and pay reductions, Western sources said.

Official sources in Brasov said local Communist Party leaders and the management of the Steagul Rosu (Red Flag) truck and tractor plant, where the protests started, had been fired and an official inquiry opened.

They said wages, the non-payment of which had sparked the violence, had since been paid.

Unofficial sources denied that there had been further rioting after November 15.

The rioting at Brasov is believed to be the worst outbreak of violence against the regime of President Nicolae Ceausescu in at least 10 years. [passage omitted]

Food Appears in Shops

AU291405 Paris AFP in English 0738 GMT 29 Nov 87

[Excerpts] Vienna, Nov 29 (AFP)—Meat, sausage and frozen turkey have suddenly become available in the shops of the troubled Romanian city of Brasov as the authorities attempt to sweeten up the workers, whose rioting on November 15 left two policemen dead and rocked the government. [passage omitted]

Other industrial centres in Romania are also to receive substantially increased deliveries of food as the government acts to head off further disturbances, reliable reports reaching here from Bucharest indicated.

The decision to step up food supplies was taken at a recent meeting of the state planning committee, the reports said.

The Transylvanian city of Brasov, the second largest in Romania, is to be at the head of the queue for the kid-glove treatment, the reports indicated. [passage omitted]

Official sources in Brasov said local Communist Party leaders and the management of the Steagul Rosu plant were fired after the riots and an official inquiry opened.

Reports by Western travellers returning from Brasov indicated that the workers' riots had been followed some days later by expressions of support among the city's student population. Hundreds of students took part in a meeting a week after the riots, and on Thursday the University of Brasov was being tightly patrolled by militiamen carrying sub-machine guns, the reports said. [passage omitted]

Widespread 'Hunger, Misery'

AU272007 Vienna KURIER in German 27 Nov 87 p 3

[Wolfgang Broer "exclusive" report: "Romania: Cold, Famine, and Brutal Terror"]

[Text] Hunger and misery have reached an inconceivable level in Romania. This is demonstrated both by samizdat papers in Hungarian and by a call for help from Transylvanian Saxons.

"We are starving and freezing. Only 10 to 12 degrees Celsius are permitted in apartments. This temperature is checked by the police. Only 15-watt and 25-watt light bulbs are being sold." This is how on Thursday [26 November] the representative of the Transylvanian Saxons in the FRG described the situation of his countrymen in Romania.

For the past 4 years, infant and elderly people's mortality rate has been rising in Romanian winters because the apartments are so cold, damp, and unheated. This winter, the situation will probably deteriorate even further because the allotment of energy to private households has been cut by another 30 percent.

The *Hungarian Press of Transylvania*, a samizdat publication that *Kurier* received an exclusive copy of, reports there is an even more drastic restriction of foodstuffs than expected. Only 0.5 kg of white flour, 1 kg of corn flour, and 0.5 liters of edible oil, eight eggs, and 0.5 kg of sugar are permitted per month per person. Instead of 0.5 kg of meat, one only gets fish or scraps from chicken processing. Per month, there are 75 grams of soap and 0.5 kg of detergent available per person. At present there is no baby food available.

This year's potato and corn harvest was a disaster. Therefore, only 5 kg of potatoes are being sold per person per month; large families are permitted a maximum of 10 kg. In Satu Mare there have been riots during the distribution of these meager rations, and one sales assistant was trampled to death.

The *Hungarian Press of Transylvania* also reports on how Ceausescu's regime is trying to fan hatred. For example, one day in Covasna County the people were forced by the authorities to distribute already harvested potatoes back into the fields. Used to nonsensical orders from "above," they did just that—only to learn the next day why: Romanian television showed as a "shocking example" that the Hungarian peasants "let the harvest rot in the fields because they are horribly lazy. That is why there are no potatoes."

According to the *Hungarian Press of Transylvania*, the harvest is brought in by pupils, students, and industrial workers detailed to this duty (who have to expect wage cuts for not fulfilling plan targets) under the supervision of soldiers with guns at the ready. At night the fields are guarded by paramilitary organizations, the harvest itself is taken away in military trucks.

Those who reveal the machinations of the Ceausescu regime have to expect terror and death. Thus, Josef Sipos, a priest of the Reformed Church from Lazari, was taken away by the "Securitate" secret service. His mutilated body was found in Bucharest. Sipos, who left a wife and four children, had revealed that a gift consignment containing 100,000 Bibles had been repulped in the Braila paper factory and had been processed into toilet paper.

PEC Discusses Dolj County Violations

AU281153 Bucharest Domestic Service in Romanian 2000 GMT 27 Nov 87

[Text] At its meeting today, the PEC discussed the serious violations of discipline committed by the first secretary and other members of the Dolj County RCP Committee Bureau as well as by other cadres with responsible party-state positions in Dolj County, and decided that they have to be punished.

The PEC expressed complete agreement with Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu's remarks and decided that these remarks, and the conclusions the RCP secretary general expressed during the meeting in connection with the violations committed in Dolj, should be broadly discussed in a critical and self-critical spirit during the plenary meetings of county party committees and the

entire party, and that urgent, decisive measures must be taken to eliminate shortcomings and ensure a radical improvement of the activity.

Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu asked that, the events in Dolj County be more thoroughly examined, proceeding from the fact that they represent a serious violation of party discipline, of the statute and of the norms of socialist ethics and equity.

The very serious organizational measures taken against the first party secretary and the other cadres in the bureau and Dolj RCP Committee are completely justified and in full accordance with the provisions of the statute and with party norms and principles. A thorough examination of all activities in Dolj County and in all the party bodies and organizations is required to draw the appropriate conclusions and take all the necessary measures to achieve a general improvement of party activity as a whole.

The incidents that occurred there show there was improper activity carried out by the Dolj RCP Committee and by its bureau for a longer period of time. The situation was allowed to continue and was not given the necessary attention, although this state of affairs had been discussed and certain organizational measures had been taken. PEC members were sent to Dolj County, but they failed to thoroughly examine the working style, methods, and the party spirit in the county bureau and in the Dolj RCP Committee. Only in this way can the fact be explained that the negative state of affairs continued and even worsened, even after the above measures had been taken.

All this shows a weakening of the party spirit, of responsibility and discipline, of order, of good organization of activity for the unflinching implementation of the decisions of the RCP Central Committee, and of the country's laws. Undoubtedly, this reflects the serious shortcomings in the organizational and political activity of promoting cadres and closely following their activity. Likewise, this reflects the serious shortcomings in carrying out party activity and in examining party activity in a critical and self-critical manner that is also noted in other counties and other sectors of activity. Likewise, the serious shortcomings in the activity of Dolj County RCP Committee show the lack of party exigency and of the exigency of the party bodies and organizations, and of the party-state cadres in various places of work. A situation was created in which we were pleased with the fact that certain pledges and promises were made, but the state of affairs was not thoroughly examined or conclusions completely drawn. As a matter of fact, this is an expression of the lack of exigency, of the lack of the party spirit in the work being carried out in all sectors of activity. At the same time, all these facts lead, in many work places, to the establishment of a spirit of tolerance and familiarism, of hushing up and covering for certain negative states of affairs, which represent a very serious thing for the entire party and state activity. Likewise, the serious happenings in Dolj are also the result of very serious shortcomings in the ideological and political-educational work—primarily with the party cadres—and a sign of a weakening of concern for continuously raising the ideological level and the revolutionary spirit in work, life, and all the sectors of activity.

As a matter of fact, this led to the belief that personal problems are not problems of party life and that no attention should or, actually, is being paid to them as problems of the party itself. It is impossible to separate party activity from the behavior of party activists. Party activity cannot be separated from the behavior of party activists and of the party cadres within the family, society, and all fields of activity.

In the spirit of our party principles, decisive measures must be taken to improve the behavior of party members at their places of work and in life so as to continuously strengthen communist morals. We must draw all the necessary conclusions from the serious violations of party norms and principles that took place in Dolj, and we must take firm measures against all those who are guilty of such violations of party norms and discipline. Likewise we must draw more general political conclusions and take actions to eliminate such negative states of affairs wherever they occur, such as the ones that have already occurred. In addition, we should improve all party-state activity, thus bringing about an increase in responsibility and militant spirit and in the critical and self-critical spirit. At the same time, we must take decisive measures to improve political education and establish a program to make party cadres—from the highest ranking to the lowest ranking—study, learn, and use party methods and the party spirit at work. In this way, they will be able to most favorably fulfill the tasks levied on them.

We must draw the appropriate conclusions from all these things and must not overlook the slightest violations. If we ignore or underestimate the negative state of affairs, they can reach such proportions and create such situations where nothing can be done. Concern for people and for cadres means drawing attention to, and not ignoring, all shortcomings—whether at work, in life, or in the family—because all these things make up a uniform whole. Not acting in this way means departing from party principles in developing cadres.

We must firmly apply the statute provisions and laws of the country in selecting, promoting, and rotating cadres, and also in educating and developing party cadres.

Proceeding from these proposals and conclusions and on the basis of recommendations of the RCP secretary general, the PEC of the RCP decided that this decision be broadly discussed in all the party conferences with all party aktivs and that appropriate conclusions be drawn.

Likewise, this decision should be thoroughly discussed with all ministries and central institutions, and on this basis, decisive measures should be taken to improve the working style and methods.

In the spirit of the things which have been discussed during the meeting and of the recommendations and guidelines of the RCP secretary general, the PEC decided that a special program will be set up regarding the political-educational program. Likewise, the problems of the working style and the [words indistinct] of the Central Committee and of all party-state aktivs.

Particular attention will have to be paid to the continuous examination of the activity of Dolj RCP committee and a special program will be set up to improve the work of the party bodies, of the cadres, and party aktiv to change, in the shortest time possible, the entire party activity in that county.

The PEC expresses its belief that all county party committees will examine with the greatest exactness and revolutionary seriousness the deficiency and shortcomings that are still apparent in their activity and will ensure the increased responsibility of the entire party aktiv, of the communists, and of all the working people, so as to approach the RCP National Conference with increasingly significant achievements and ensure the appropriate implementation of the provisions for this year's plan and for the entire 5-year plan period, and of the 13th RCP Congress decisions.

Former Dolj Officials Expelled From RCP

AU272149 Bucharest AGERPRES in English 2018 GMT 27 Nov 87

[Text] Bucharest, AGERPRES, 27/11/1987—Friday, November 27, Nicolae Ceausescu, general secretary of the Romanian Communist Party, chaired a meeting of the Executive Political Committee of the CC of the RCP.

The Executive Political Committee debated a report on the serious deviations committed by the first secretary and other members of the bureau of the Dolj County RCP Committee as well as by certain decision makers on a party and state line.

The Executive Political Committee considered that the measures taken by the plenary meeting of the Dolj County RCP Committee and the plenary meeting of the Craiova Municipality RCP Committee regarding the exclusion of those cadres from the offices they held were fully justified, and decided that Gheorghe Matei and Haralambie Alexa be expelled from the party Central Committee, Ion Stiuca and Marin Lungu from the ranks of alternate members and that all of them should be excluded from the party.

The Executive Political Committee adopted a decision which is to be debated at length in all county party committees and in all party bodies and organizations.

Next, the Executive Political Committee examined and approved a report on the country's land administration and protection.

The Executive Political Committee also solved problems related to the promotion and release of some cadres as well as routine questions of the party and state activity.

PEC Discusses Ceausescu's Egyptian Visit

AU281309 Bucharest AGERPRES in English 2021 GMT 27 Nov 87

["High Appreciation for the Results of the New Romanian-Egyptian Summit"—AGERPRES headline]

[Text] Bucharest, AGERPRES, 27/11/1987—During a meeting of the Executive Political Committee of the CC of the RCP held on November 27, 1987, presided over by the party general secretary, an account was read of the official visit of friendship President Nicolae Ceausescu of Romania and Mme Elena Ceausescu paid to Egypt over November 23-25.

The Executive Political Committee was highly appreciative of the new Romanian-Egyptian summit which, owing to its results, goes down as a significant moment in the continuous strengthening of the links of friendship and collaboration between the two countries, in the interests of the two peoples, of the cause of peace, understanding and cooperation among nations.

It was stressed with satisfaction that during the talks President Nicolae Ceausescu and Muhammad Husni Mubarak had reiterated their joint wish to expand the cooperation between Romania and Egypt on all planes, as an expression of the understandings and documents agreed upon. In this respect, the significance was highlighted of the long-term agreement on the expansion of economic, technical and scientific collaboration, and of commercial exchanges between Romania and the Arab Republic of Egypt, until the year 2000, signed by the two presidents at the end of the visit.

Emphasis was also placed on the deep-going significance of the exchange of opinions between Presidents Nicolae Ceausescu and Muhammad Husni Mubarak on international political issues, more particularly on the ways and means of settling Middle East issues.

Special appreciation was expressed for the fact that, expressing Romania's and Egypt's stance on the Middle East situation, the two presidents stated for the establishment of a global, just and durable peace in the area, on the basis of Israel's withdrawal from the Arab territories occupied in the wake of the 1967 war, the recognition of the Palestinian people's right to self-determination—to the creation of a Palestinian state of its own included—the ensurance of the integrity, sovereignty and security of all the states in the area. Stress was also laid on the importance of the reiteration in that context of Romania's consistent stand on the calling, as soon as

possible, of an international conference under UN aegis to be attended by all the sides concerned, as well as by the PLO, the sole legitimate representative of the Palestinian people, by Israel and the permanent members of the Security Council.

At the same time, the determination of Romania and of Egypt was expressed to cooperate ever more closely in the world arena, to make an active contribution to the constructive settlement of the current international issues, to the promotion of the policy of peace, detente and disarmament, to the establishment of a world climate of security, confidence and collaboration.

Fully approving of the results of the visit, the Executive Political Committee requested the government, the ministries and the other central synthesis bodies to take measures for the proper implementation of the documents and understandings agreed upon, which open the prospect of a more intense development of the Romanian-Egyptian cooperation.

Communique With Egypt on Ceausescu Visit

AU281605 Bucharest SCINTEIA in Romanian 26 Nov 87 p 3

["Joint Communique on the Official Friendship Visit by Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu, President of the SR of Romania and by Comrade Elena Ceausescu, to the Arab Republic of Egypt" on 23-25 November, adopted on 25 November in Cairo]

[Text] At the invitation of Muhammad Husni Mubarak, president of the Arab Republic of Egypt, and of Madam Suzanne Mubarak, Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu, president of the SR of Romania, and Comrade Elena Ceausescu, paid an official visit of friendship to the Arab Republic of Egypt on 23-25 November 1987.

Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu, president of the SR of Romania, and Comrade Elena Ceausescu enjoyed a very warm welcome everywhere they went. This was an expression of the traditional relations of close friendship existing between the two countries and peoples and of the mutual feelings of esteem and respect.

Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu, president of the SR of Romania, and Muhammad Husni Mubarak, president of the Arab Republic of Egypt, held official talks in an atmosphere of mutual esteem and complete understanding.

During the talks, the two heads of state briefed each other on the socioeconomic development of their countries and reviewed the current stage of bilateral relations in the political, economic, scientific, technological, and cultural fields. They also conducted a broad exchange of views on the major problems currently confronting mankind.

President Muhammad Husni Mubarak highly valued the constant efforts Romania is making and the outstanding results it is achieving under the leadership of President Nicolae Ceausescu in the process of ensuring the country's socioeconomic development, and he extended wishes for success on the path of ensuring rapid development in industry, agriculture, science, technology, and other fields of activity. Likewise, the president of the Arab Republic of Egypt highly valued the realistic and constructive foreign policy promoted by President Nicolae Ceausescu as well as Romania's significant contribution to the cause of peace, disarmament, and international cooperation.

President Nicolae Ceausescu highly valued the Arab Republic of Egypt's tireless efforts and the outstanding results produced under the leadership of President Muhammad Husni Mubarak in the country's political, economic, and social development. The president of the SR of Romania also positively assessed the constructive and principled foreign policy promoted by President Muhammad Husni Mubarak and the significant contribution the Arab Republic of Egypt is making to strengthening the cause of peace and understanding in the Middle East and throughout the world.

President Nicolae Ceausescu and President Muhammad Husni Mubarak expressed the joint determination to more intensively develop the relations of close friendship and fruitful cooperation between the SR of Romania and the Arab Republic of Egypt, for the benefit of both nations and in the interests of the cause of peace and progress in the world.

The sides positively assessed the cooperation between the governments and the parliaments of the two countries and decided to take further action to expand and diversify this cooperation in the future and to implement the decisions and understandings adopted at the highest level.

During the talks, the two presidents paid particular attention to the issue of continuously deepening bilateral economic relations. The sides emphasized the importance of implementing the objectives of cooperation between the two countries, in order to contribute to the development of their national economies.

The sides noted that, by diversifying and increasing commercial exchanges, a contribution is being made to ensuring a better supply of basic products, machines, and equipment for the national economies of the two countries.

The leaders of the two countries emphasized that the potential and requirements of the national economies of Romania and Egypt and the results obtained so far create favorable conditions for stronger economic and scientific-technical cooperation between them, in the spirit of the joint declarations and the other documents signed in Bucharest and in Cairo.

The sides stressed the importance of developing mutually advantageous, long-term economic cooperation. The sides decided to concentrate their efforts in the future on expanding and diversifying cooperation in the fields of energy, industry, and agriculture.

During the visit, the presidents of the two countries signed a long-term agreement on expanding economic and scientific-technical cooperation and commercial exchanges between the SR of Romania and the Arab Republic of Egypt up to the year 2000, and they agreed that central institutions and specialized enterprises in the two countries should adopt concrete measures to implement the provisions in this area. Both sides appreciated the importance of concluding the long-term agreement, which contributes to consolidating Romanian-Egyptian economic relations.

To facilitate the expansion of mutually advantageous economic and technological cooperation in some major productive sectors of the Egyptian national economy, a credit agreement between the Government of the SR of Romania and the Government of the Arab Republic of Egypt was signed during the visit.

President Nicolae Ceausescu and President Muhammad Husni Mubarak highly assessed the results obtained in cooperation in the fields of education, science, culture, press, radio-television, and tourism, and decided to continue and intensify contacts between the two countries in this field of activity.

During the visit, Nicolae Ceausescu, president of the SR of Romania and Muhammad Husni Mubarak, president of the Arab Republic of Egypt made a broad exchange of views on the current international situation.

The leaders of the two countries expressed their concern over the serious and complex problems existing in the world. They noted the fact that the existence of nuclear weapons, which can destroy life itself on our planet, requires a new concept and a new way of approaching international problems in the interests of peace, security, and cooperation in the world.

The two presidents noted that the fundamental issue of our times is to resolutely halt the arms race, to undertake concrete steps toward disarmament, primarily nuclear disarmament, and to defend the people's right to existence and peace.

President Nicolae Ceausescu and President Muhammad Husni Mubarak hailed the agreement in principle between the Soviet Union and the United States on signing an accord on eliminating medium-range nuclear and operational-tactical missiles, noting that this accord should clear the way for further nuclear disarmament agreements. In this respect, the two leaders reiterated the urgency of halting nuclear tests and all the activities that might lead to developing and perfecting nuclear weapons.

Likewise, the sides noted that more decisive actions are needed to achieve a comprehensive disarmament program that should include, in addition to the prohibition of nuclear weapons, the prohibition of chemical and other weapons of mass destruction and the substantial reduction of conventional weapons, troops, and military expenditures. The sides also emphasized the need to use outer space solely for peaceful purposes and to establish an international system for using outer space as a resource of mankind as a whole. The resources freed through disarmament could be used to ensure the socio-economic development of all countries, primarily the underdeveloped countries.

The Romanian president and the Egyptian president expressed their hope that during the All-European Conference in Vienna on security and cooperation the participants would make real progress in establishing a comprehensive and balanced document, which will contribute to promoting disarmament and to developing cooperation in the economic, scientific, technological, cultural, and other fields of activity among European countries, and to strengthening confidence, security, and peace in Europe and throughout the world.

Romania and Egypt speak out for turning the Balkans into a zone of peace, cooperation, and good-neighborliness, free of nuclear and chemical weapons. They also speak out for creating such zones in central and northern Europe, in the Mediterranean region, in the Middle East, and in other parts of the world.

The Romanian president and the Egyptian president favor the seeking of solutions to interstate conflicts solely through negotiation as the only rational way to establish a climate of confidence, detente, and cooperation, and to eliminate force from international life.

Examining the evolution of the situation in the Middle East, the president of the SR of Romania and the president of the Arab Republic of Egypt spoke for the establishment of a comprehensive, just, and lasting peace in this region through Israel's withdrawal from the Arab territories occupied after the 1967 war, through recognizing the Palestinian people's inalienable right to self-determination—including the creation of an independent Palestinian state—and through ensuring the integrity, sovereignty, and security of all countries in the region. Likewise, both sides stressed the importance of organizing as soon as possible a UN-sponsored international conference, with the participation of all interested sides, including the PLO, as the sole, legitimate representative of the Palestinian people, and with the participation of the permanent members of the UN Security Council.

President Nicolae Ceausescu and President Muhammad Husni Mubarak expressed their deep concern over the latest developments in the Gulf region and noted that firm measures are needed to implement UN Security

Council Resolution No 598 and to seek political and negotiated solutions to the problems between Iran and Iraq to ensure free navigation in that region.

The president of the SR of Romania and the president of the Arab Republic of Egypt emphasized the need to intensify efforts to overcome the current serious situation in Lebanon, halt any interference in the domestic affairs of that country, and seek ways that will lead to a broad national reconciliation of all political forces, and that will ensure the unity of the Lebanese people and strengthen their independence and freedom.

Romania and Egypt reiterated their solidarity with the struggle waged by the African people to eliminate colonialism, to consolidate national independence, and to ensure independent socioeconomic development. President Nicolae Ceausescu and President Muhammad Husni Mubarak most decisively condemned South Africa's aggressive actions against independent neighboring countries, the racial policy of apartheid, and the reprisals of the Pretoria authorities against the majority of the population.

The leaders of the two countries expressed the active support of their countries with the just struggle waged by the Namibian people—under the leadership of the South West African People's Organization, as their sole, legitimate representative—to win their national independence. They also supported intensifying international efforts with a view to ensuring Namibia's independence by urgently applying the UN resolutions.

President Nicolae Ceausescu and President Muhammad Husni Mubarak highly assessed the role played by the OAU in the life of Africa and stressed the fact that this organization can contribute to developing cooperation between the African countries and to uniting efforts with a view to seeking political solutions to the problems existing between some of those countries.

Expressing their concern over the economic and financial-monetary crisis in the world economy, which affects the developing countries in particular, the Romanian president and the Egyptian president spoke for eliminating underdevelopment and the establishment of a new international economic order as an imperative for ensuring peace and security in the world.

Romania and Egypt believe that it is necessary to organize a UN-sponsored international conference, with the participation under equal conditions of both developed and developing countries, with a view to seeking mutually acceptable solutions to the economic problems, including the foreign debt problem, and with a view to establishing new international economic relations based on full equality and equity, which can ensure stability to the world economy. The two countries also stressed the importance of organizing a summit conference of the developing countries, which could increase cooperation among them in all fields of mutual interest and could establish a common strategy and platform for negotiations with developed countries.

The presidents of the two countries stressed that firm measures are needed to seek overall political and economic solutions to the developing countries' foreign debt problem—solutions that will take into account the development level of the debtor countries, their payment possibilities, and the efforts these countries have to make to ensure their socioeconomic progress.

At the same time, both sides emphasized the fact that practical measures are required to reduce and stabilize debts at reasonable levels and to ensure the granting of new credits to developing countries, under advantageous conditions, so as to facilitate their socioeconomic development.

President Nicolae Ceausescu and President Muhammad Husni Mubarak believe that the complex problems confronting mankind require the active and equal participation in international events by all countries, regardless of their size or social system.

Romania and Egypt believe that the United Nations is the most appropriate international forum for ensuring democratic discussions and seeking solutions to current international problems. Romania and Egypt favor increasing the role and efficiency of the United Nations in the interests of peace, progress, and international cooperation.

The president of the SR of Romania and the president of the Arab Republic of Egypt stressed the importance and the positive role of the Nonaligned Movement in seeking solutions to the current problems and highly assessed the significance of the decisions adopted at the Harare Conference of the heads of states and governments from nonaligned countries.

The two countries expressed their determination to develop relations of friendship and cooperation with all countries of the world, regardless of their social system, on the basis of the principles of full equality of rights, respect for national independence and sovereignty, noninterference in domestic affairs, and mutual advantage.

The two heads of state expressed their complete satisfaction with the way in which the talks were held and with the understandings they reached during the visit and emphasized their belief that the results of the talks they held make a new and valuable contribution to strengthening the existing relations of friendship and cooperation between the two countries.

The president of the SR of Romania, Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu, and Comrade Elena Ceausescu expressed heartfelt thanks to the president of the Arab Republic of

Egypt, to Madame Suzanne Mubarak, and to the Egyptian Government and people for the warm reception and the particular hospitality they enjoyed during their stay in Egypt.

Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu and Comrade Elena Ceausescu invited President Muhammad Husni Mubarak and Madame Suzanne Mubarak to pay an official friendship visit to the SR of Romania. The invitation was accepted with pleasure. The date of the visit will be established through diplomatic channels.

Cairo, 25 November 1987.

Officials Receive Soviet Military Delegation

AU281737 Bucharest AGERPRES in English 1543 GMT 28 Nov 87

[Text] Bucharest, AGERPRES, 28/11/1987—At the invitation of the Army Higher Political Council a Soviet military delegation headed by Army General A.D. Lizichev, chief of the Soviet Army and Navy Principal Political Department, paid a visit to Romania over November 26-28.

The guests were received at the CC of the RCP headquarters by Ion Coman, member of the Executive Political Committee, secretary of the CC of the RCP, and by Col. Gen. Vasile Milea, alternate member of the Executive Political Committee of the CC of the RCP, minister of national defence. On the occasion reference was made to the friendly relations between the two parties, peoples and armies, and new ways and means were found for the broadening of collaboration between the two armies.

During their Romania visit, the Soviet delegation exchanged experience in organizational, political-educative and party work matters at the headquarters of the Army Higher Political Council with a delegation of activists headed by Lt. Gen. Ilie Ceausescu, deputy minister of national defence and secretary of the Army Higher Political Council, as well as at some party organizations of the Romanian Army. The Soviet guests also saw round socioeconomic units and tourist spots.

Press Mark Albania's National Day

AU281743 Bucharest AGERPRES in English 1422 GMT 28 Nov 87

["Romanian Press on Albania's National Day"—AGERPRES headline]

[Text] Bucharest, AGERPRES, 28/11/1987—The national day of the Albanian people is extensively observed by the Romanian press that publishes, along with the congratulatory telegram addressed by Romania's President Nicolae Ceausescu and by the prime minister to the Albanian leaders on the occasion, also special notes, travel notes from that country.

Highlighting that the Albanian people welcomes the celebration of liberation and of the victory of the people's revolution, as well as the 75th anniversary of the proclamation of independence with new successes in socialist construction, daily *Scinteia* writes: The Romanian people follows with friendship the achievements of the Albanian people in socialist construction. The Romanian and Albanian people established already in the past relations of friendship and collaboration that have developed in the years of people's power based on observance of the principles of national independence and sovereignty, equal rights, non-interference in internal affairs and mutual advantage. Economic collaboration has grown. The volume of goods exchanges has recorded tangible increase in recent years, and the understandings in force stipulate further enlargement and diversification of economic collaboration.

The development of the Romanian-Albanian collaboration is beneficial to the two peoples, to the strengthening of their friendship and to the cause of peace, socialism and international collaboration, *Scinteia* concludes. Stressing the significance of the celebration, *Romania Libera* writes:

The efforts made by the Albanian people in the years after liberation have led to the transformation of that country from a backward agrarian country into an industrial-agrarian socialist one, with industrialization considered as decisive factor for the building of the new society's technical-material base.

Zambian President's Visit Postponed

AU281947 Bucharest AGERPRES in English 1935 GMT 28 Nov 87

[Text] Bucharest, AGERPRES, 28/11/1987—Due to unfavourable weather conditions, the presidential plane having aboard the President of the United National Independence Party, president of Zambia, Kenneth David Kaunda, who was to arrive in Bucharest for an official visit of friendship to Romania at the invitation of Nicolae Ceausescu, general secretary of the Romanian Communist Party, president of Romania, could not land at Otopeni Airport, the visit being thus postponed.

Dizdarevic on Coming Gorbachev Visit

AU272113 Belgrade POLITIKA in Serbo-Croatian 25 Nov 87 p 1

[A.P. report: "Yugoslavia Open to Europe"]

[Excerpts] With a very specific, precise, open, and diverse speech lasting almost 2 hours by Federal Secretary Raif Dizdarevic and with a discussion that included several delegates and prominent experts on international politics, the SFRY Assembly Foreign Policy Committee, chaired by Mijat Sukovic, yesterday joined very actively in the analysis of our country's international position, our successes and difficulties in this sphere, as well as the interpretation of some of the most important international processes that Dizdarevic openly assessed as "historic". [passage omitted]

Extremely great interest was aroused among those present—including prominent representatives of the Federal Secretariat for Foreign Affairs, the president of the Federal Council for International Relations, the president of the LCY Central Committee Commission, the president of the SAWPY Section, leading experts on politics and on international law, several members of the Council of the Federation, and many others—by the announcement of Mikhail Gorbachev's forthcoming visit to our country. Although he did not disclose a few confidential details, Dizdarevic confirmed that the preparations for Mikhail Gorbachev's visit have already begun. The Soviet leader will come either at the end of December or in January of next year. The arrival of a group of Soviet experts has already been announced. They, in cooperation with our high officials, are to prepare everything necessary for an effective and successful course of this visit. It has been learned, although not confirmed, that an extensive declaration is being prepared with permanent and principled political content. This declaration will contain all invariable and original principles of our two countries' relations that are included in the documents of 1955 and 1956.

Answering some delegates' questions, Dizdarevic said that our economy now has a surplus of about $1.4 billion with the Soviet Union and that it has been reduced only a little from the highest level of the past. This, of course, has a limiting effect on the general state of trade and relations.

On the whole, Dizdarevic confirmed on this occasion that Yugoslavia's international position has not changed in essence. However, he assessed that total changes in world relations are very significant especially since this is the first time that the huge stockpiles of nuclear arms are starting to be reduced. "In the 40 years following World War II, the world was continuously arming itself," he said. "This is the first time that this is being reduced." This creates new situations for the activity of nonaligned countries, too, and shifts the focus of their activity to the sphere of economic relations.

Brake on USSR Reform 'Threw Boris Yeltsin Off'

AU232049 Belgrade Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1800 GMT 23 Nov 87

[Text] The topic of consultations held at the CPSU Central Committee was the role of the party in the second stage of restructuring. In his opening and closing speech, General Secretary Mikhail Gorbachev stated that this is the most difficult and most complex stage. Here is Branislav Canak:

This assessment is understandable if one analyzes what Gorbachev marked as the main directions of the second stage. Extending the scope of the cadre policy established at the January plenum, particularly in the party ranks, represents a job that requires exceptional tact as well as energy. There is no need to explain how skillful one has to be to reconcile these two notions in practice. Despite some cadre changes, including some changes at the top itself, the fact is that little has been done considering everything that has been piling up for decades in the CPSU's cadre practice. The problem of, as Gorbachev said, those who hooked themselves onto the party in the period of lagging behind or even recently, is being attached to this. Let us remind you, in the current terminology the period of lagging behind marks the time of Leonid Brezhnev, but one could assume that it also refers to the great generation and cadre changes since Brezhnev's death.

Insisting again on the significance of democratization in the restructuring's further course, Gorbachev pointed out at the above-mentioned consultations that this is exceptionally important for the life and work of the party too. Searching for the driving forces of social progress among the people, one will avoid the situation in which conservatism or a false vanguard will drive the party into an impasse of dogmatism or absurd schemes, Gorbachev pointed out.

To Gorbachev, the democratization in the Soviet party also means fundamental changes in the party activities at lower levels, in the base itself. Obviously the least changes have taken place here because, in a dilemma as to how to implement some of the tasks of restructuring, people at the base often resorted to old methods. The new methods of elections and candidature for the party posts should ensure an inflow of forces from the base to the top that would be capable of conducting a struggle on the course of the transformation. More candidates and secret ballots without proposals from above also mean the return to Leninist principles in this sphere too. This is, in fact, a struggle against autocracy and the system of imposing cadres who are a direct reflection of stagnation in all of society's segments. The fact is that in the process of democratization one should expect new moves especially regarding the methods of elections in the party. This is allowed by the Statute, but many things will only become clearer next June when a party conference on the theme "Further Democratization of the Party and Society" is due to be held. In fact, the calling of this

conference — the last such conference was held during Lenin's time — represents in a certain way a democratic act in itself. One should note that all this is being done very carefully in accordance with the sensitivity of self-imposing problems. The train is moving forward, but there is still a strong grip on the brake, one observer concluded. This hand on the brake recently threw Boris Yeltsin off the train, but others were warned too that the train is continuing to go forward.

Hakija Pozderac Expelled from LCY

AU281553 Belgrade TANJUG in English 2342 GMT 24 Nov 87

["Hakija Pozderac Expelled From Party"—TANJUG headline]

[Text] Belgrade, November 24 (TANJUG)—Hakija Pozderac, one of the active participants of the Agrokomerc affair, the biggest financial scandal in postwar Yugoslavia, was expelled this evening from membership of the League of Communists of Yugoslavia (LCY). The decision was adopted unanimously by the party committee of the federal bodies and organizations of Yugoslavia.

The committee found that Hakija Pozderac—who was also a federal minister and, until recently, member of the Council of the Federation—had contributed to creating an "informal, extra-institutional system of political influence and decision-making." In its assessment, he deviated from the LCY's policy and self-management and legal norms, tarnished the moral image of party members, greatly harmed the reputation and influence of the League of Communists, abused his office, and helped privatize social funds and property.

Mojsov on SFRY Debt Repayment

LD271440 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1346 GMT 27 Nov 87

[Text] Belgrade, November 27 (TANJUG)—Yugoslav State Presidency President Lazar Mojsov expressed the hope today that a mutually beneficial solution will be found to the question of Yugoslav debts in talks with foreign creditors.

In an interview to a group of Yugoslav journalists on the eve of the Yugoslav national holiday, November 29, Mojsov said that none of the official organs had ever spoken about a moratorium on Yugoslavia's foreign debt payments, but about the need to create more tolerable conditions for their repayment. Foreign debts cannot be repayed at the cost of the country's economic and social stability and its independence, the Yugoslav state Presidency President said.

Yugoslavia owes around 20 billion U.S. dollars, for which it has had to set aside up to 45 percent of its overall export revenues every year.

The fact that it has to repay over a half of the principal of its long-term and medium-term debts in the next four years means an outflow of over 50 percent of the country's hard-currency inflow, under the condition that high export and foreign currency inflow rates are achieved, Mojsov noted.

In the interview to the dailies *Borba* and *Oslobodjenje* of Belgrade and Sarajevo and to Ljubljana television, Mojsov said that Yugoslavia needed a restructuring of its foreign [word indistinct] in order to be able to make necessary structural changes, to boost economic development, introduce new technologies and increase exports and foreign currency inflow.

Mojsov stressed in particular that Yugoslavia's foreign debt is a "domestic problem". Yugoslavia could, in a relatively short period, come out of its present debt servicing difficulties if the sorely needed turn was taken in the domestic economy towards increasing production and exports, he said.

Mojsov further said that Yugoslavia's creditors are aware that neither development nor the current reproduction of the economy should be endangered.

He said that the Yugoslav demand for debt restructuring is in accordance also with the actions of the developing countries for a dialogue on the further development of the world economy, and in particular, world trade. In this sense, it is important to take into consideration the interests and responsibilities of both the creditors and debtors in solving the debt problem.

Developing countries' debts have exceeded one billion dollars.

Assembly Reviews Constitutional Proposals

LD260350 Belgrade TANJUG in English 0011 GMT 25 Nov 87

["By Srboljub Manojlovic"—TANJUG headline]

[Text] Belgrade, November 25 (TANJUG)—The Assembly of Yugoslavia is soon to define the draft of 29 amendments to the Constitution of this multinational federal country, after which they will be the topic of a nation-wide debate lasting several months.

The constitutional changes are aimed at improving those solutions which have not stood the test of time and at making the country's system more rational and efficient.

Most changes are envisaged in articles which pertain to the federation, weakened by the transfer of many powers to the republics and provinces, in socio-economic relations where emphasis is laid on a market economy, and in the delegational system where direct elections for deputies to the assemblies are expected to be partly restored.

Replacement of the indirect elections introduced 13 years ago under the present constitution with direct elections was one of the key demands voiced in press articles and various debates held so far.

Under the preliminary draft of the amendments, now the subject of heated discussions in the republics and provinces, delegates to the Federal Chamber of the Assembly of Yugoslavia would be elected diectly by secret ballot and would be accountable to those who elected them.

Where elections for delegates to the second chamber of the Assembly of Yugoslavia are concerned, major changes have not been proposed, except for the transfer of some of its powers to the federal chamber. A direct ballot, however, is envisaged for elections of delegates to two of the three chambers of the republican and provincial assemblies and for delegates to over 500 assemblies of communies.

The country's leadership has not yet reached full agreement on how the Presidency of Yugoslavia, the eight-member collective head of state, will be elected in future. Radical demands for the reinstatement of the office of head of state with a four-year term as in Tito's time, or for each member of the Presidency of the elected by secret ballot in the republoc or province which he represents, will probably not be accepted. The constitutional commission has opted to maintain the status quo.

It has been suggested that the members of the Presidency be nominated by the leaderships of the republican and provincial organizations of the Socialist Alliance, the biggest socio-political organization in the country, but they continue to be elected by the republican and provincial assemblies.

An article providing for the dismissal of a Presidency member before expiration of term is expected to be introduced. A precedent for this was set this autumn when Hamdija Pozderac, a member of the Presidency from Bosnia-Herzegovina, was dismissed because of his involvement in the Agrokomerc affair, the biggest post-war financial scandal in Yugoslavia.

The preliminary draft foresees another innovation, namely that the Presidency be able to nominate one member of represent the whole of Yugoslavia. Though it has not been explained in detail, this proposal has drawn major attention. Should the Presidency take advantage of it, it remains to be seen whether this member will represent Yugoslavia only abroad, or whether the move will open the door to the reinstatement of a one-man Presidency.

The State Presidency's initiative to amend the 1974 Constitution is aimed at strengthening the unity of the federation and securing long-term solutions to the present crisis.

Prime Minister Branko Mikulic's government has not managed to brake inflation which is now running at over 130 percent. Yugoslavia is also saddled with a 19-million-dollar foreign debt and has asked its creditors for another delay in repayments so that more funds could be channeleed into its flagging economy.

The 750 billion dinars' (900 million dollars) worth of uncovered promissory notes issued by Agrokomerc has added it to the flames. The situation in the autonomous province of Kosovo, gripped by ethnic Albanian chauvinism and separatism, is again deteriorating. But the Yugoslav leadership is now demonstrating firmer resolve to settle this serious problem.

These dramatic developments have to an extent overshadowed the work on the constitutional changes where the biggest obstacle seems to be the definition of the future powers of the fedeation.

The economically developed republics, foremostly Slovenia but also Croatia, are openly reluctant to relinquish any of their powers under the present Constitution to the federal authorities (taxation policy, federal inspectorates, certain prerogatives in education, etc.), claiming that this would lead to the re-establishment of the rejected concept of unitarism. They consider it illusory to believe that reinstatement of federal powers and centralism would help the country to surmount the crisis.

Those who argue differently say that the federation is not supranational and that there is not danger of centralism even if it should be given new powers since the republics and provinces discuss and agree all essential issues within the federation.

'Blunt Discussions' Open 'Door to Democracy'

AU301220 Belgrade BORBA in Serbo-Croatian 6 Nov 87 p 2

[Djoko Kesic commentary: "Surfeit of Speeches After a Surfeit of Silence"]

[Excerpts] In our political and social circumstances, true values and peripheral values, well-meant constructive criticism and politicking cliches, reason, ability and obedience, cause and effects increasingly lose their normal logical sequence.

In keeping with this counter-logic, many people are inclined to be surprised at the increasingly frequent cannonades of frank discussion and criticism, in which often words are not minced, at least not to the extent that used to be the case. This happened again with the criticism that the delegates of the SFRY Assembly have recently been making of the FEC and the text of the Draft Constitutional Amendments laid before them. If we are forced to wonder at the somewhat more blunt

discussions in our parliament, we must admit that in no previous assembly have there been such fierce words or so many delegates not mincing their words. [passage omitted]

This "verbal revolution," it must be said, did not start with the new delegates for this assembly. A curious metamorphosis occurred a few months ago, for, let us recall, these same delegates were mostly silent a year ago, for instance, when the federal government introduced the so-called "programmed inflation," which was later assessed as one of the major blunders of the current economic policy in the past few years.

Among the "most extreme" delegate speeches one may count—to recall the session of the SFRY Assembly Federal Chamber in June—the speech by delegate Vilko Jelen, who called the FEC and its president, Branko Mikulic, to account because of the inconsistencies of current economic policy. It happened that on the same day the FEC president left a session of the SFRY Presidency in order to reply in the Assembly to this delegates' questions. This was unprecedented.

But this "precedent" was only a sideshow compared with the latest flood of radical assessments and criticisms of the FEC's work, the constitutional changes, and the Anti-Inflation Program.

One of more important features of the latest situation is that now, in addition to the usual fears of federal statism expressed in the delegate's discussions on the constitutional changes, there has suddenly emerged a proposition to the effect that one should seriously consider what should be done with the proposals and amendments that do not fit in the SFRY Presidency initiative on constitutional changes

In another case, the Anti-Inflation Program and the federal government were the joint target of criticism by the delegates in the Committee for Socioeconomic Relations: "For 1 and 1/2 years we have sat here and the FEC proposals have passed us without modification, and therefore we have got so far. It is high time for us to say: either them or us, or all together. Such a program does no harm, but also no good. In fact, it can be used by economists to revise their first-year studies." (Ratko Vukcevic) [passage omitted]

Delegate Ratko Vukcevic is right in this point. Almost all the FEC proposals that did not affect or threaten the material interests or political positions of the republic and provinces passed the delegates without modification. It is also true that in previous discussions of the constitutional changes, when a strict directive was issued that all the amendments falling outside the strict framework of the SFRY Presidency Initiative on Changes in the Constitution [clause as published], the delegates kept silent as if they were made of stone. Now they are raising a storm, now that the republican and provincial assemblies have accepted the initiative and that there is virtually no point in protesting.

Nevertheless, the flood of criticism and frank discussions in the SFRY Assembly is worthy of attention for several reasons. First because the Assembly is assuming the image in which people conceive it, and because the Assembly is treating its own (public) discussions less and less as "fun for the people," as somebody said the other day, and more and more as the normal "delegates' obligation" to the same people. There is no doubt therefore that one is talking more openly about the responsibility of everybody from top to bottom. The trouble is, however, that most frequently it is only the federal government that is on the carpet. The delegates seem to forget that the FEC is only an executive body of the SFRY Assembly, and it would be logical for them to accept some responsibility themselves, which has not been the case so far. Let us not even speak about the excessive size of the group of "responsible subjects" in our country and about the fact that in many respects this group is outside the path along which the assembly and the FEC communicate. It is also not a happy circumstance that the frank discussions in our parliament have been virtually forced upon us by huge disturbances and diversions such as the Agrokomerc affair (as a reflection of the crisis that has been oppressing us for years).

It would certainly be much better if the door to democracy were opened by our high sense of social awareness in times of prosperity rather than by a political and economic crisis, which has its own unpleasant and dangerous laws. Still, better late than never.

Further Reportage on Labor Troubles

Metalec Management Dismissed

LD202359 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1425 GMT 20 Nov 87

[Summary] Bitolj, 20 Nov (TANJUG)—The workers' council of the Metalec industry in Bitolj, which is part of the Josip Broz Tito metal works in Skopje, relieved almost the entire management of its duties today for reasons of poor management and unsatisfactory relations in this work organization.

Former Aluminij Leader Ousted

LD202356 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1129 GMT 20 Nov 87

[Summary] Mostar, 20 Nov (TANJUG)—Josip Musa, the former chairman of the Aluminij work organization of Energoinvest, has been expelled from the LCY for suspected embezzlement and abuse of his official position. At the same time, all the LC members in this organization received a comradely criticism because of long-standing corruption in the collective.

Miners Await Reply to Demands

LD231423 Zagreb Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1800 GMT 22 Nov 87

[Text] In the Mramor and Dobrnja-Jug coal mines today is a rest day, but a number of the miners who stopped work on Friday—about 300 of them—still have not dispersed to their homes. The miners are awaiting a reply to their demands for more significant increases in their personal incomes. It is still not known whether the first shift at these two mines in Kreka will begin production. At last night's meeting, after the decision by the Kreka Workers' Council that earnings can only be increased in keeping with production results, the miners requested that the earnings of production workers—not administrative workers—be increased by 100 percent. Also requested is a bonus for each five tonnes of coal mined and that the incomes of disabled workers be paid in accordance with the earnings at the places where they formerly worked. Stress is also placed on demands for the better distribution of apartments, for equal earnings of miners throughout the composite organization of associated labor of Tito's coal mine, controls on the disposal of socially owned vehicles and for works canteens to be open on Sunday, as well. At an extraordinary session, the Kreka Workers' Council assessed that earnings in October, which will be paid tomorrow, will be 25 percent higher than those in September because such are the work results. The council warned that a further increase in personal incomes would be illegal. Otherwise, good face workers in Kreka earned about 400,000 dinars in October. The request for a bonus on every five tonnes of coal will be sent for consideration to the mine's trade union.

Elektrika LC Expels Official

LD211655 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1140 GMT 21 Nov 87

[Text] Kavadarci, 21 Nov (TANJUG)—The basic LC organization in the Elektrika electrical work organization in Kavadarci has expelled the assistant managing director, Djordji Volkanovski, for dealing in promissory notes that were issued without the existence of debtor-creditor relations. The comrades on the council also proposed the same ideopolitical measure for managing director Miso Skartov and his deputy Dragi Ristov, but since they were not present at the meeting, the measure was not taken. Ideopolitical measures—a final warning before expulsion—were also ruled against all managers of the basic organization of associated labor who were in a position to have prevented the illegal business activity. A final warning was also given to Dimitar Cukarkov, secretary of the LC basic organization.

Serbian LC Discusses Kosovo Emigration

LD201133 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1431 GMT 19 Nov 87

[Excerpts] Belgrade, 19 Nov (TANJUG)—The concept of the Yugoslav program to halt emigration from Kosovo serves notice that this document can be successful only if the struggle for its implementation is conducted on the broadest social basis, and if all who signed it are mobilized. This assessment, contained in the introductory report by Jurij Bajec [Member of LC of Serbia Presidium], was one of the points of departure during the discussion at the session today of the LC of Serbia Central Committee Presidium, which unanimously endorsed the Yugoslav draft program to halt the emigration of Serbs and Montenegrins from Kosovo.

Stressing that this document was accepted by the entire Yugoslav public, Bajec said that awareness is growing that Kosovo is a concern shared by everyone and a problem relevant to the whole of the country. At the same time, adopting the program implies considerably greater responsibility on the part of the forces in Kosovo for their own development. It is not meant to be a replacement for the already established and adopted party orientations and conclusions about the situation in the province.

Bajec set out the already well-known information about the number of people who have emigrated during the past few years, and warned that in the eventuality of this process being continued, the slogan of Albanian nationalists and separatists about an ethnically pure Kosovo will become a reality. Only when full constitutionality, legality, and security for all citizens in Kosovo has been ensured will we be able to think about stopping emigration. There are quite a few people among the 110,000 persons who have emigrated from Kosovo during the past 25 years who would not object to returning, because they have property, family, and friends there. [passage omitted]

Stressing that a new kind of awareness and a favorable climate for the implementation of this program are being created in Kosovo, Azem Vlasi [member of LC of the Serbia Presidium], advocated in his speech during the discussion even more active cooperation between the organs of the federation, republics, and provinces with regard to this matter. He spoke against the impressions, as he described them, especially at the federal level, that the problem of development is given undue emphasis in Kosovo, which implied higher financial expenditure by our social community at large. I would like to say, Vlasi stressed, that this is not contingent on other measures and activities, whose importance and weight are not denied. However, if they could be accompanied with a higher level of material support for faster development then there would be more results in the implementation of the program as a whole. We are aware of what kind of shape the economy of the whole country is in, but the orientation should be supported that the 200 biggest work organizations should invest in Kosovo, Vlasi concluded.

Having made the assessment that this document's solutions essentially differ from similar solutions that we have adopted on previous occasions, Radisa Gacic [secretary of the LCY Presidium] stressed that for this very

reason none of the 87 proposed measures must remain unimplemented. It is true that it would have been easier before to implement some parts of the program then it is now, but it will be even more difficult in the future—and with fewer results. As regards the emigration as the biggest political problem in the country, much trust has been invested and it cannot be restored through proclamations, but only with concrete results, Gacis said.

Momcilo Baljak [member of LC of Serbia Presidium] stressed the importance of the Serbo-Croat language programs having a bigger share in Pristina Television broadcasts, adding that certain adjustments are possible in this without waiting for the completion of a comprehensive television network covering the entire territory of Kosovo. Also, he believes, reciprocal and more intensive cooperation between the Pristina broadcasting service and other television centers in the country should be insisted on, not only through program exchanges, but also through joint programs and coproductions. Vaso Milincevic [member of LC of Serbia Presidium] spoke in a similar vein about cultural cooperation and links.

The Yugoslav program offers an opportunity, stressed Slobodan Milosevic, president of the LC of Serbia Central Committee Presidium, winding up the debate, to strengthen unity on the basic and vital interests of the whole country. The economic and social aspects of this program without a doubt represent a new quality that offers a far greater assurance that the resources will be used more efficiently to the advantage of Kosovo's genuine development.

What is particularly significant, Milosevic went on to say, is that under this program the resources are channelled and used in such a way that one cannot but refer to it as tackling the problems unilaterally in a national sense or as being some kind of property of a single nation. On the contrary, it is a program that opens Kosovo toward Yugoslavia, and Yugoslavia toward Kosovo. What this is all about, is that this program, more so than any Yugoslav document during the past decade, stresses so many things in the economic sphere that are shared by all, and that this must help economic and political integration in Kosovo, in Serbia, and in Yugoslavia. For this reason everyone, and especially the communists, have the paramount task of carrying out this program consistently.

I think we can say that this is the beginning of the economic, social, and political transformation of Kosovo in a way which has to be done by a developed country on the threshold of the 21st century. Perhaps in present-day conditions all of us in Yugoslavia—particularly in the case of Kosovo and this program—shall learn to jointly solve other problems, too, Slobodan Milosevic concluded.

Industrialists Assess Anti-Inflation Program

LD232300 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1651 GMT 23 Nov 87

[Text] Ljubljana, 23 Nov (TANJUG)—The Anti-Inflation Program and the recently adopted intervention measures have introduced into the Slovene economy even more uncertainty and complications, the first consequences of which are significantly more harmful than the pessimistic forecasts. The rapid growth in the costs of production and business operations is seriously threatening to decimate individual branches of the economy, while in many activities the scope for more rapid development, modernization, and restructuring is almost completely restricted. This assessment of the effect of the recent measures was noted at today's meeting of representatives of the Association of Slovene Branches of Industry. The stabilization of the economy, it was said, cannot be built on the siphoning off of income and the extinguishing of motivation to achieve better productivity, bigger exports and new programs. There are an increasing number of economic branches, groupings and collectives in Slovenia whose fall in income is threatening to provide a sudden upsurge in worker dissatisfaction.

Although during the discussion of the Anti-Inflation Program, Slovene industrialists had a whole series of objections to its content and orientation, today they unanimously expressed their readiness to implement, within the framework of scope for business operations and general addresses, the adopted program. They also stress that there should soon be preparations for further and more complete assessments of the impact of the latest measures in associated labor and, on the basis of what they indicate, also demand changes to the better run businesses and to truly stabilize the economy.